

# **THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW**

Continuing

**The Review of Historical Publications  
Relating to Canada**

Founded at the University of Toronto in 1896

**Edited by John T. Saywell**

**VOLUME XL, 1959**

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Edited by John T. Saywell

VOLUME XL, NO. 1

MARCH, 1959

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## The National Policy, the Workingman, and Proletarian Ideas in Victorian Canada\*

F. W. WATT

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS of Victorian Canada have largely overlooked the existence of a small but active radical labour press in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As a consequence they have failed to recognize in the era following Confederation many radical ideas and attitudes which in this country are usually thought of as stemming from the Russian Revolution or the Great Depression; they have ignored the influence of current American and English radical thought at that time; and they have neglected evidences of class-conscious social ideals among some working men which run contrary to the nation-building aspirations of the main political parties.

Victorian Canadians, with their difficult job of nation building to carry out, could not afford the luxury of radically conflicting social ideologies. As early as 1879 the majority had found a symbol for their material and political aspirations in that National Policy which soon became a generally acceptable programme of economic nationalism—east-west expansion, large-scale immigration, and state-encouraged “free enterprise.” Theoretical discussions of economic and political ideas were rare among political leaders, and the National Policy itself was pragmatic rather than ideological. In time all serious opposition to the National Policy within Canada’s major political tradition ceased. However, the growth of industrial urbanism encouraged by the National Policy carried along with it a potential threat to the course of nation building and economic nationalism. The rise in numbers, strength, and organization of the working class, though not im-

\*The author wishes to thank the Committee to administer the Rockefeller Grant at the University of Toronto.

mediately of much political significance, fostered radical ideas which challenged the assumptions of the established social philosophy. From radical writers and especially from the small labour press, it is possible to infer a tradition of radicalism surprising in its extent and development. Though now virtually forgotten, it foreshadowed the more familiar radicalism which grew into prominence in the twentieth century, after the National Policy had largely done its work.

## I

After the decade of the 1860's a number of factors, including improved transportation facilities, the Crimean War, the American Civil War, and Confederation itself, had contributed to an increased industrialization in the British North American provinces. Both labour and manufacturing groups at this time began to organize on a large scale. The Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry held its first convention in 1858, when it advocated, significantly, "readjustment of the tariff" and encouragement of immigration. Eight years later this association of business men had grown more "class conscious" and vociferous: "There exists a knowledge amounting to a conviction, in the mind of most of us, that, as a class, we have been strangely overlooked in the regulation of public matters in this country."<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile improvements in communications were bringing Canadian workers into closer contact with their fellows in other parts of the world. When the Nine Hour Movement in Great Britain and the Eight Hour Movement of the Americans made themselves felt during the early 1870's, there was a considerable body of Canadian workers ready to join in the cry for shorter hours.

British and American labour organizations had been offering increasing encouragement to Canadian workers during the previous decade. In 1871 the Toronto Trades Assembly was formed, with J. S. Williams of the Typographical Union as president, and with leaders of other internationally affiliated unions as founding members, notable among them being M. A. Foran, author of the proletarian novel, *The Other Side*. It was this group which brought into being the *Ontario Workman*, a weekly newspaper which first appeared on the streets of Toronto on April 18, 1872. Though the publication of the newspaper was relatively short lived, it marked the end of the era of isolated local workers' groups, or of feeble existence at the periphery of American or British societies, and the beginning of the era of growing national importance for Canadian labour. By 1872 both

<sup>1</sup>Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry, *Its Formation, By-Laws, etc.* (Toronto, 1866), 5.

capital and labour were sufficiently developed and organized for a trial of strength, though no ideology teaching a fundamental divergence of interest between the two had captured the attention of either.<sup>2</sup>

The Nine Hour Movement provided the Toronto Trades Assembly and the *Ontario Workman* with an "advanced" but comparatively respectable cause in which to make their existence felt. The printers' strike for the nine-hour day had begun on March 25, with George Brown and the *Globe* taking their traditional stand on the "right of every employer to make what arrangements he pleases as to the internal regulation of his establishment."<sup>3</sup> Alone among the newspaper proprietors James Beaty of the *Leader*, a Conservative member of Parliament, came to the defence of the printers. No one could doubt Beaty's popularity or Brown's unpopularity in labour quarters after reading the *Ontario Workman's* account of the "Great Procession of Workmen" called by the Toronto Trades Assembly, and the demonstration of sympathizers, "10,000 strong," on Sunday, April 14, to publicize the workers' cause: "The procession on passing THE LEADER office cheered lustily, but on passing THE GLOBE office a contemptuous silence was observed, with the exception of a few who could not refrain from giving vent to a groan."

The attentive politician concerned with the problems of making a success of Confederation might easily have learned a good deal about the position and the temper of the workers from the speeches addressed to the Assembly on that occasion. E. K. Dodds, early in the meeting, sounded a theme which was to be reiterated frequently, by insisting that the cause for which they were gathered together "was not a mere American device or dodge, but the outspoken expression of the true working Canadians of this country." Reports in the *Workman* then and later frequently emphasized the influence of the British movement. Undoubtedly it was politic to say and print such words, for the Nine Hour Movement inevitably found itself saddled with those suspicions of disloyalty, Americanism, or republicanism which were the old heritage awaiting any onslaught on the *status quo*. Nevertheless, Dodds and others were not afraid, despite charges of treason and foreign agitation, to speak plainly: "If the masters would

<sup>2</sup>H. A. Logan, *Trade Unions in Canada* (Toronto, 1948), the fullest treatment of the Canadian labour movement, briefly sketches its early history, but no full and detailed account has yet been given of the growth either of workers' organizations or of their ideas before 1900; moreover, Logan's study confines itself to "business unionism" mainly, and leaves aside more radical ideologies. See also R. L. Elliott, "The Canadian Labour Press from 1887: A Chronological Annotated Directory," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XIV (May, 1948), 220-45; and *Canadian Labour Papers* (Department of Labour Library, Ottawa, 1955).

<sup>3</sup>*Weekly Globe*, March 29, 1872.

not give in," the *Workman* quotes him, "these men would go elsewhere where not only muscle was valued, but intellectual capacity also." The location of "elsewhere" is left in no doubt by the following speaker, Beaty: "He regretted to see, however, men leaving the country because they could not get full price for their labour here; but if men could get more money for their labour south of the line 45, it was only natural that they should go."

Another feature of the speeches on April 14 and of later editorials in the *Workman* worthy of note is the extent to which all of them are charged with a sense, beyond the needs of form and eloquence, of the momentousness of the events in which they have a part. In different ways they repeat Dodds' words to the demonstrators: "This was the commencement of a new era, the precursor of a great and peaceful revolution." Curiously enough, the "revolution" was not thought of in political terms, and, in fact, Dodds clearly expressed the general feeling when he said of the workers' demands: "He did not believe that political matters should be brought into this question. . . ." Nevertheless, the political implications could not long after be avoided, and radical ideas were in the air. Increasingly in the next decades the other classes were to be made aware of working class aspirations. At the moment, certainly, the organized labour group was a relatively unimportant segment of society, some fraction of the fifty or sixty thousand making up the total urban labour force, but in the years to come its number would grow, and the question of achieving and maintaining its integration in the developing nation would become more serious.

As the first issues of the *Ontario Workman* and the events recorded in them imply, the "workingman" was growing conscious of himself as a member of a class, and of his organizations. New hopes and ideals were being held before him, and he was hearing prophecies of sweeping changes in his lot. For the moment, at any rate, he considered his own endeavours towards social and economic progress to be non-political, and he was highly suspicious of politics. "Class" and "national" ideals, if not identical, were not at any rate seen as irreconcilable. The worker was potentially capable of strong feeling for Canada and Great Britain, but would not for long put patriotism before the necessities and material comforts of life: the United States was always ready to welcome the discontented among native and immigrant workmen, and poverty or oppression were likely to swell that number rapidly. It was Sir John Macdonald and the Conservatives who made these inferences, and who in responding to them took the initiative away from the Liberals for years to come.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>See D. G. Creighton, "George Brown, Sir John Macdonald, and the 'Workingman,'" *Canadian Historical Review*, XXIV (Dec., 1943), 362-76.

Macdonald succeeded in capitalizing on the high feelings aroused by the printers' strike by one of the simplest important strategical moves of his career, the passing of the British Trade Union Act of 1871 (with its qualifying companion, the Criminal Law Amendment) in the Canadian Parliament.<sup>5</sup> Whether the general public could agree with the workingmen on the Nine Hours question, it could and very nearly did agree that the drastic action of Brown and the Master Printers, who had the Typographical Union's committee of twenty-four arrested and tried for unlawful restraint of trade, was grossly anachronistic. Sir John overnight became the workers' champion, and that mantle proved useful to him for the rest of his life. The *Workman* described with unqualified enthusiasm the banquet held by the Toronto Trades Assembly to honour the Conservative leader in the summer of 1872. Sir John took advantage of the opportunity to identify himself still further with the workers' position by a speech in his best easy, good-natured, jocular manner, itself a kind of genial compliment to his audience, and he was heartily received. The occasion was probably never duplicated with quite such unanimity of feeling. But the tributes offered him were a token to that combination of political sagacity and personal charm which even his enemies among workers, in later years, still admired; though not a few of their class had come to doubt that Sir John, the living embodiment of the national cause, was truly a "cabinet-maker" with the worker's interest at heart.

In the middle seventies the high crest of the labour movement receded in the face of the depression, carrying the *Ontario Workman* down with it. However, by this time the conception of a national organization of workers had received general attention, and had been embodied temporarily in the Canadian Labour Union.<sup>6</sup> That group, representing trade organizations throughout Ontario, had met in 1873, but because of "bad times" was unable to draw enough support to carry on after three annual conventions, and the idea lay dormant until the revival of trade in the late seventies and early eighties. By then Sir John and the Conservatives had successfully campaigned and come into office on the platform of the National Policy. The new Opposition continued to express in Parliament those objections and criticisms to the National Policy which they had laid before the public in the campaign of 1878. At that time not Sir John Macdonald

<sup>5</sup>Canadian labour unions, like their British counterparts until as late as 1871, were illegal bodies, and their members could be charged in criminal and civil law with conspiracy for restraint of trade. This legislation in effect legalized trade unions and removed them from coercive pressures possible under earlier English statute law and common law decisions.

<sup>6</sup>The Toronto trades Assembly initiated this organization by calling a convention to meet in Toronto on Sept. 23, 1873. Quebec and Montreal unions were approached, but finally only Ontario was actually represented. The Union's constitution and programme were an excellent early statement of sound trade union principles.

but another "workingman's friend," Alexander Mackenzie, was defending his Government against charges of inaction, and especially against suggestions that protection might be adopted as a way out of the depression: "I see you have a motto here," he said to an audience in a small Ontario town, "Mackenzie, the workingman's friend, but I would like to know what motto would apply to me if I should, by carrying out protection for its own sake, by carrying out the policy of protection, make the rich man richer and the poor man poorer—for that is, after all, just what it means. . . . Let us not seek or admit anything in the shape of class legislation."

The Hon. R. J. Cartwright was addressing "pic-nic" meetings throughout Ontario in the same vein, and carrying the argument to the extent of objecting to the rapid industrialization protection was intended to encourage, the policy of "diverting men from the wholesome cultivation of the soil and clustering them together in the unhealthy slums of great cities, thus leading to an artificial increase of the city population." But the Hon. David Mills, in his addresses in the same campaign circuit, proved least discreet and most radical in his attack on the then embryonic National Policy: "Every skilled labourer from abroad who settles in Canada becomes a competitor with every other engaged in the same pursuits who is already here. . . . It must then be clear to you that better wages and better times for the working population is not the impelling motive of those who are calling for protection, and until Sir John Macdonald and his partisans earnestly set themselves to work, as friends of the workingman, to put down immigration in this country, they can hardly be regarded as sincere in the professions they make."<sup>7</sup>

"To put down immigration" would of course be to turn aside from the ideals of nation building as the Conservatives conceived it. The attacks of the Liberals became more determined and unqualified when they found themselves the Opposition in 1879, and the Conservatives had declared themselves fully by embodying their views in tariff legislation. But the Liberal position was not a happy one. Though spokesmen like the *Globe* vigorously expounded objections to the National Policy, they had no very convincing alternative to offer. No more than the Conservatives were they prepared to abandon the protective tariff entirely, and the Manchester School doctrines of laissez-faire individualism, never at any time practised in the Canadian economic environment, became less and less feasible as the National Policy carried out its purpose of fostering industrial urbanism.

Published in 1889, ten years after the adoption of the National

<sup>7</sup>*Reform Government in the Dominion, the Pic-Nic Speeches . . . of 1877* (Globe Printing Press, Toronto, 1878), 43, 87, 178.



Policy, the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital* virtually credited the Tory policy with the industrialization of Canada: "Factories of various kinds had been in existence in Canada for many years, but it was not until the impetus given by the protective tariff in 1879 had been fully felt that they became an important feature of the wealth and prosperity of the Dominion. With us the factory system has not grown slowly; it sprang into existence almost at one bound, and was the creature of the legislation adopted ten years ago." (p. 87) Whatever the cause or the degree of the new industrialism (and they were a matter of much dispute), the Royal Commission drew attention in its report to several features which suggest a qualification of enthusiasm from the point of view of the workingman. "In acquiring the industries at one bound," the *Report* records, "we have also become possessed, just as quickly, of the evils which accompany the factory system." And the chief reason for this unfortunate development the *Report* puts in a few brief, and to the modern ear, charmingly naïve sentences: "There seems to be no idea of any obligation existing between the employer and his operatives, any more than the mere payment of wages. To obtain a very large percentage of work with the smallest possible outlay of wages appears to be the one fixed and dominant idea. There is no bond of sympathy existing between the capitalist of the large mill and his employees. . . ." (p. 87)

The Commission received disturbing evidence of "sweated labour," children and women working excessively long hours, and objectionable sanitary arrangements in Canadian factories. In working class homes the Commission found the evils of exorbitantly high rents and dangerously low standards of hygiene and sanitation. Wages and the cost of living were also looked into by the Commission, but since this question involved the larger problem of social justice, the evidence received was inconsistent and was not dealt with in any conclusive way, although the *Report* observes that material conditions for the workers were better than in any previous period.

In regard to the not unrelated question of immigration, the Commission expressed more definite conclusions. Assisted immigrations had officially ceased in 1888, but the method of importing labour under contract continued. According to the Commission, the bringing in of contract labour was a threat to the workers' status, and should be forbidden, and only unskilled workers or farmers should be allowed to enter the country. "Parliament in its wisdom has protected the interests of the manufacturer by the safeguard of a tariff, and the citizen whose only capital is his labor should be not less the object of paternal care" (p. 115). The Commission did not seem to understand

the full implications of this view. In more aggressive language it had been the growing cry of labour groups for some years: protection for labour as well as for capital. It was, in fact, a fundamental challenge to the National Policy, and the subject was handled with considerable care by Sir John in the parliamentary debates on alien contract labour in 1890.<sup>8</sup>

The important but implicit conclusion of the Commission's *Report* was that a rift had come into the open during the past decade between the people and interests masked by the then newly fashionable abstractions, capital and labour. Though the rift could scarcely be described as a Marxian "class struggle," an increasingly self-conscious and aggressive proletariat was seen to have been growing up, fostered (paradoxically) by the National Policy of which one great aim was national unity. Moreover, this group was coming more and more to equate the interests of capital, its alleged enemy, with the National Policy, and even with the spirit of patriotism.

During the eighties the Conservative Government naturally received the blame for failing to fulfil the bright promises it had advanced in the name of the National Policy. Ignorance of the conditions of world economy and partisan motivations made this inevitable, when a decade of Conservative rule brought no sustained prosperity, no general peopling of the West, and no great increase in the population of Canada as a whole. The Nova Scotian working class newspaper, the *Trades Journal*, sometime organ of the Provincial Workmen's Association, gives a revealing picture of growing bitterness and disillusionment in the years following 1879. That paper, "Devoted to the Interests of the Mine, the Workshop and the Farm," throughout 1880 and 1881 and into 1882 threw its support behind the National Policy, perhaps mainly because it saw in that policy a help to the Nova Scotia coal trade, and therefore to the miners. But by the spring of 1882 a note of reservation is frequently to be heard, especially with regard to the immigration issue: "We do not object to labor of all kinds coming to this country at its own expenses, but when the government, or the capitalists, whose manufactures are protected, assist in, or import foreign labour, then they adopt a course not likely to make a protective policy very popular with the working classes" (May 17). By December 20 the note is sharper still: "As for assisting the immigration of mechanics, labourers and farm servants, that would be a piece of folly. Though trade is brisk, brisker than in years, yet we know that it is with difficulty that employment can be had at times."

By the following spring, the *Trades Journal* had developed a strongly reasoned argument against assisted immigration. In May,

<sup>8</sup>Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 1890, I, 1244, 2196.



1883, the Canadian Government had sent an order to A. T. Galt, High Commissioner in London, urging that "agents" act more vigorously to supply the need for "mechanics and laborers" in Canada. But, argued the *Trades Journal* on May 30, if labour is scarce it should enjoy the benefits of scarcity, high wages: "It is claimed that the National Policy is popular with Canadian Workingmen. We believe it is, and that one of the expressed objects for which it was introduced, viz., more work for our workingmen has been and is being realized. But if the Dominion Gov't is now going to do its endeavour to cause an influx of workingmen, then we cannot see that Canadian workingmen are going to reap as large a harvest as they anticipated. . . . There is something inconsistent in the action of the Government in assisting immigration of mechanics and laborers. . . ." Belatedly the editor of the *Trades Journal* had come upon what appeared to be a contradiction in the ideals of the National Policy.

In the next years the editorial criticism grew angrier and the tributes to the Tories fewer and less enthusiastic. By 1887 the *Trade Journal* had given over the Tories and the National Policy completely, and become an independent. Thus on June 15: "Protection, we were told, was to largely benefit Canadian workmen. Indeed it was chiefly in their interests that it was adopted—so politicians told us. Any belief that our rulers care a fig for the workingman is growing, day by day, small by degrees and beautifully less." From that time on the National Policy became merely an object of bitter derision, as in the following description on May 15, 1889: "On Tuesday when the train conveying the National Policy Italians to Cape Breton to work on the Government railway reached Piedmont Station, it crossed the west-bound train with a load of Cape Breton Scotchmen and Frenchmen on their way to the United States. How thankful the Cape Bretoners should be. The next importation will likely be a carload of Chinese." Even Sir John Macdonald's easy, good-natured charm seemed to have turned sour in this editor's mouth. On January 26, 1889, he reported that a group of workers' delegates had been turned aside at Ottawa by Sir John merely with a "jest": "But these delegates from the Trades' Council, are a lot of sycophants if they do not resent Sir John's mode of answering a civil question by an attempt at jesting. They are boobies if they are content to be made butts in such a manner. And in this easy manner will workingmen be thrust to one side until they make a better, more forcible and telling display of manhood at the polls. The ballot is the only weapon with which to reply to stale jokers." The method of nation building so closely identifiable with John A. Macdonald had fallen into ill-repute with this spokesman of the workingman.

The story of disappointment with and opposition to the National Policy is to be read in the labour newspapers of central Canada too. In the early eighties Hamilton was already a city of considerable development, and a centre of labour activity. By 1883 there is evidence that the international society of the Knights of Labor had had marked organizational success there, along with its advances in many parts of Ontario. The *Labor Union*, "A Weekly Journal Devoted to the Interests of All Classes of Labor" edited by E. H. Rowe, appeared early in 1883 as an organ of the Knights of Labor. Very shortly this became, under the same sponsorship, the *Palladium of Labor*, and as such continued to publish for several years with an intellectual vigour and idealism that often distinguished the Knights of Labor elsewhere.

The ideological propaganda appearing in the *Labor Union* and the *Palladium* was aimed directly at encouraging a more class-conscious and aggressive attitude in the urban workers of Hamilton. "Party affiliations," the *Labor Union* declared on January 20, 1883, "ought to be ignored where they interfere with a clear recognition of the claims of labor. Every workingman should take an active part in politics, but instead of letting the politicians use him, as is often the case, he should use the politicians. . . . Labor interests first and foremost—party politics afterwards—ought to be the watchword." But another feature of the *Labor Union's* proletarian aspirations was of greater importance in regard to the problem of Canadian unity. It was almost certainly the internationalism of the Knights of Labor that made Sir John Macdonald view the movement as a threat to his hopes for Canada, to be mentioned in the same breath with the name of Louis Riel.<sup>9</sup> A conscious labour internationalism is evident in the *Labor Union's* views of war stated on March 3, 1883: "The prospects of industrial emancipation are improving. Its greatest enemy is international hostility. The ruling classes by their intrigue always manage to keep the nations in arms against each other. The object of this is to divert their attention from grievances at home. Labor organizations; the spread of education, and increased facilities for communication are bringing the working classes more closely together."

When the *Palladium of Labor*, a "Journal Devoted to the Interests of Workingmen and Workingwomen," appeared in the summer of that year, it was quick to carry on the theme, and presented more vigorously still the same attitude; for example, on October 6: "What is wanted is

<sup>9</sup>Joseph Pope, ed., *Selections from the Correspondence of John A. Macdonald* (Ottawa, 1921), 386.

a thorough International Union, by which the workingmen of all civilized countries will be associated to take common action. . . . The war cries of patriotism, like those of religion and party, have been used by crafty politicians and capitalists to further their own selfish ends."

During 1883, through the ingenious device of a fictitious discussion group, "Our Social Club," the *Palladium* was carrying its propaganda still farther. One of the members, "Mr. Freeman," is recorded on November 3 as saying: "British connection is a bad thing for us in a good many ways. . . . The great evil to my mind is the subserviency to British opinion which prevents us adopting legislation suitable to our own requirements, and in accord with democratic ideas. Then, too, the whole structure of society is permeated with the pernicious notions of caste and class supremacy which are imported from England."

In the summer of 1884, there was apparently sufficient support for such views in Hamilton to make them the stock-in-trade of oratory. The great land reform champion of the day, Henry George, speaking to an allegedly huge, enthusiastic audience in the Crystal Palace, condemned "this thing, miscalled patriotism, that merely sets people of one nation against people of another nation," though he acknowledged the existence of a "proper national cry." However, in respect to Canada and the United States he noted, "Here on this side of the water, we look upon the United States as one thing and Canada as another, but when we go to the other side of the Atlantic the differences melt away."

In many other respects, too, the *Palladium* contains cause for any doubts and fears Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Government, and the patriotic members of the educated classes might have felt during the eighties. The workers' typical suspicion of politics takes, in the *Palladium's* social club, the form of suspicion of Sir John. On November 24, 1883, "Murdoch" rejects suggestions that the workingmen should try to make use of politicians in order to advance their cause: "Wha sups wi the deil maun ha an unco lang spune" said Murdoch sententiously. 'T'd be afeard that in sic a bargain Sir John Macdonald wad be ower money for us, an' play fast an' loose wi' his promises as he did in the matter o' the N.P.'" The views of "Harcourt" with regard to the tariff aspect of the National Policy are equally vigorous: "My opinion briefly expressed . . . is that a Free-Trader is a fool, and a Protectionist is an idiot! . . . I protest against elevating into a principle what is merely a matter of expediency to be governed by the circumstances of each community as they rise." "Murdoch," in the same discussion, refutes the belief that protection as enforced by the

National Policy brought prosperity to the nation, and points instead to world economic conditions for any advances that might have occurred. In due course, after months of discussion covering most subjects of interest to the worker, "Our Social Club" had moved towards certain general principles: labour internationalism, and independent, critical support of such parties and politicians as would further labour interests. Then the group proceeded to dissolve itself to form the basis of a new and more active organization, the "Labor Political Association." The meaning this parable was intended to carry to the workingman is plain enough.

The *Palladium* had clearly taken up a stand in opposition to all that Sir John and the National Policy represented. Instead of the principle of closer relations with Great Britain and resistance against American encroachment, the *Palladium* offered criticism of the British connection. Against the feeling of patriotism itself, the *Palladium* argues on December 1, 1883:

Patriotism indeed! It is all very well for the millionaire, for the Government pensioner, for the oil-tongued politician, and the full-paunched bourgeois to be patriotic. They have reason to—the country has filled their pockets. Its laws are made in their interests. Its institutions permit them to plunder the poor with impunity. Let them throw off their hats and cheer for the Queen or Canadian independence as they prefer; but as for the mass of humanity, they have little to care the toss of a copper what form the Government assumes, or whether we are ruled from Ottawa, Downing Street, or Washington. . . .

In the same way, the editor notes on April 19, 1884, "the specious plea of patriotism is often put forward as a reason why labor should accept low wages and long hours uncomplainingly." Against the continental aspirations of the National Policy, as carried forward by the great transportation projects of the eighties, the *Palladium* reports on October 18, 1884:

The determination to undertake public works such as the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial roads for political rather than commercial purposes has saddled the country with an immense debt which our descendants will some day repudiate on the ground that they get no good from these largely useless projects. Nationalism of the kind advocated by Mr. Griffen [author of "The Provinces and the States—Why Canada does not want Annexation"] subordinates the interests and rights of the people to ambitious political schemes and the dream of future greatness. What we need to do is rather to encourage the spirit of true democracy based on the greatest good of the greatest number and holding out the hand of fellowship to the American people instead of regarding them as enemies to be kept at a distance.

Finally, a typical headline, on October 4, 1884, makes all too clear the nature of its continuing campaign against the National Policy's encouragement of immigration: "INDIGNATION! Labor's Protest Against

Chinese and Pauper Immigration, The Chinese Must Go. Europe's Paupers Not Wanted."

In the mid-eighties at the time of these proletarian fulminations, Sir John Macdonald was well aware of the potential dangers. "We have rocks ahead," he wrote in 1885, "and great skill must be exercised in steering the ship."<sup>10</sup> But his National Policy was to remain essentially unchanged. Despite the rise of class consciousness, he boldly ignored the alleged rift between labour and capital, even on such occasions as his address to the Workingmen's Liberal Conservative Association of Ottawa in 1886. There he offered an exuberantly jocular defence of the National Policy, contrasting with it the Reform era before it was introduced: "Now everything is couleur de rose. . . . Instead of there being an exodus of hundreds of thousands of people from the Dominion, the working classes—the mechanic, the labourer and the artisan, find full and profitable employment. . . ." Though fourteen years had passed, he reminded the audience of George Brown, the printers' strike, and his own role as the workingman's friend in passing the Trades' Union Bill of 1872. "If for nothing else than this measure I think I have some claim to the support of the workingman of the Dominion."

He had, in fact, very little to offer the workers directly, beyond his promise that "by a continuance of the same policy we shall endeavour to develop the industries of this country as to make it one of the most prosperous nations on the face of the earth. . . ." He rested his case on the record of his government: the legalization of the trade unions, the abolition of convict labour, the restrictions on Chinese immigration, and the arranging of reasonable interest rates for workers' savings. However, on this occasion the fervour of the concluding appeal by the Father of Confederation undoubtedly made up the balance: "I implore you, as you value the future of Canada, to work earnestly and unitedly, to allow no jealousies, sectional or racial, to arise."<sup>11</sup> In the last analysis, for the support of the workingman the National Policy rested on a patriotic appeal of this kind. Whatever the reasons, and they were many, it had not fulfilled its promise, and its fruits were still in the future. Ironically, throughout the first decades of its existence that policy was faced with growing unrest and hostility among the working class which it was in the process of helping to create.

By 1890 the hold of Sir John Macdonald, the Conservative party, and the National Policy on the workingman was being contested by a section of the trade union movement and by a vocal minority of

<sup>10</sup>Pope, *Correspondence*, 386.

<sup>11</sup>*Speech to the Workingman's Liberal Conservative Association of Ottawa . . .* (1886), 21–3.

radical leaders and writers. On December 5, 1890, the first issue of a new weekly newspaper appeared in Toronto which was to speak for the dissentient labour group: it was the *Labor Advocate*, which carried the banner, "We Demand all the Reform that Justice can ask for, and all the Justice that Reform can give," and which was supported in this uncompromising endeavour both by the Knights of Labor and the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, D.A. 125. It carried on the working class ideals of the Hamilton labour papers. The dissatisfaction of the working class was taking on considerable proportions, and it may even have been a factor in the reduced Conservative majority in the election of the following year. At the height of the campaign of 1891, though Sir John himself was campaigning in Toronto, the *Labor Advocate* took up an entirely negative stand on the general election: "The Labor Advocate does not care two straws as to the result, regarding both parties as utterly corrupt and bent only on the retention or acquirement of power." To the patriotic appeal by the Conservatives against alleged annexationist implications in the Liberal platform, the editor retorted on May 8, 1891: "The Labor Advocate believes that patriotism is a pernicious sentiment, the development of which tends to keep the laboring class everywhere in subjection."

The Conservative success on the "loyalty cry" against the annexationist implications of the Liberal platform brought little comfort to the victors. But Sir John's death in June spared him the new low of discouragement and despair which was reached in the following months, especially after the flurry of national stock-taking brought on by the publication of the new census. On September 2, 1891, the *Journal and Pictou News* (formerly the *Trades Journal*) recorded the disillusion of Nova Scotians, while at the same time expressing a feeling common to many Canadians everywhere:

While everyone is sorry at the outcome, yet the conservatives must be on the borders of despair. The figures are a crushing condemnation of their policy and bear out the contention of their opponents that it was depopulating the country. The Tories came into power on the plea that their policy would build up the country, and keep our young men at home. It has miserably failed. The government has been spending money like water to bring in immigrants; the while the native population have been flocking out of it for want of remunerative employment. Millions have been wasted on Dominion lands, millions on immigration and still more on the C.P.R. which was to fill the country with settlers.

Elsewhere across the country many others were making similar gloomy comments on the relevant statistics. But the pronouncement of the *Labor Advocate* on September 4, 1891, two months after Macdonald's death, summing up the Canadian achievement of a quarter of a



century, could be taken as the ultimate statement of the bitterness, disillusion, and despair of the day:

But the greatest and most stupendous blunder which underlies the whole system is the idea that it is necessary or desirable or possible to build up the scattered Provinces included within the Dominion into a separate nationality, distinct in traditions, ideals, interests, and institutions from the rest of this North American Continent, in sympathy with European notions and methods, and commercially isolated from our neighbours. To this end the late Sir John Macdonald devoted his life—to this end was the C.P.R. built, the protective tariff created, the North-West land monopolies endorsed, and the people's money squandered in immigration schemes. And the result of this costly and senseless struggle against nature and the plain obvious interests of the people is seen in the pitiful exhibit of the census of '91, the chronic stagnation of industry which is driving our people wholesale over the lines, and the utter demoralization of our political functions. The whole political fabric built upon a delusion and a fraud, is on the verge of overthrow. . . .

Almost dramatically, in 1896 and the years following, these bitter conclusions condemning all that Sir John Macdonald and the National Policy stood for became vividly ironical. For another quarter of a century thereafter the national east-west economy which the programme of continental transportation, protection to home industry, and mass immigration had been struggling to build up and maintain, continued to expand and prosper in an unprecedented fashion. The difficult first phase of Canadian integration was to be completed after all. The flood-gates had opened to the West, and working class unrest was swept along to the prairies and to the Pacific coast; everywhere its discontent, though it continued, could be largely ignored by the majority in the general celebration of "Canada's century."

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the ideals of democracy, social justice, and welfare played a role second to the ideals of nation building in the minds of the Government and of the Canadian educated classes. In so far as a section of the working class came to believe that these ideals were contradictory, that class constituted a hindrance or a threat to the development of the new nation. But freedom of movement, either to the frontiers or across the southern border, and relative prosperity restrained the proletarian spirit which had grown up during the years from the early seventies to the nineties. Working class hopes and ambitions were not forgotten, however, even with the coming of the "boom" after 1896; and their cause was carried forward, until in the 1930's it took on a new urgency. Then it drew to it many of the intelligentsia who before had almost entirely remained aloof, and radical ideas and theories achieved a new status. But their forgotten ideological ancestry in Victorian Canada must now be examined more closely.

## II

During the first nationally important clashes between capital and labour, the Nine Hours Movement and the printers' strike of 1872, the *Toronto Globe* had taken its stand for laissez-faire individualism. The argument was based on what must have been in 1872 a not grossly inaccurate analysis of the nation's economic situation: "We have no Rothschilds in Canada—no Jacob Astors, no Vanderbilts, no Tweeds, no Goulds, no Jim Fisks. But we have thousands of small investors, and these are our only capitalists." While such a picture scarcely did justice to the McNabs, and the Allans, and the Macphersons, of Toronto and Montreal, it did reflect the comparatively undeveloped industrial aspect of the country.

As spokesman for labour's side in the 1872-3 disputes, the *Ontario Workman* did not differ basically with this sanguine view of the organization and power of capital. The newspaper was largely concerned with immediate aims, shorter hours and higher pay for the workingman, or in brief, the nine-hour day; its vision of the working class's future was scarcely theoretical at all, certainly not revolutionary. The unobjectionable "idea of progress" was an accepted datum: "All humanity seems to have the one tendency, that of general elevation and equalization. Age after age records the one unerring story, that of progress—continual progress. . . ." From the point of view of this economic optimism, opposition to the Nine Hours Movement was a relatively unimportant phase: "Co-operation is a principle that has shone upon the world through the progress of intelligence, and that it will gradually grow with the growth of intelligence among the masses we have not the shadow of a doubt. It, or some like system, will gradually supersede the present system, as the present has superseded the serf system of the past. It remains a question of time, that may perhaps be hastened by those unpleasant strifes that ever and anon arise between the workmen and those who would lord it over them." (August 1, 1877)

From the pages of the newspaper it is easy, of course, to get a sense of the insurgent and indignant democratic spirit of a waking lower class. Manifestations of upper class snobbery were dealt with harshly. A revealing illustration is the editor's tirade on December 12, 1872, against that increasingly troubling problem of the wealthy classes, the "servant girl question": "Because one human being sells his or her labor to another for a certain reward, called wages, is no longer going to give the buyer the privilege of treating the seller with scornful and supercilious hauteur as though the sale was a degradation. No! that day is gone, mistresses of Canada, old things have passed away, and



your attempts to put back the Clock of Time by making your domestic servants into social Pariahs and dealing with them as though they were brainless, soulless and heartless machines, is the true cause of the trouble which disturbs your households." But in general the ideology of the *Ontario Workman* is one of acceptance in the immediate present of the basic social order of the day. Like the spokesman of capital, the *Ontario Workman* frequently preached harmony and peace, not class war, and asserted its faith that good-will and mutual tolerance would be sufficient to bring about a satisfactory relationship between employer and employee.

A decade later, after the depression of the mid-seventies and the introduction of the National Policy, newspapers speaking to and for labour had lost some of their optimism. "There has been of late years," said the *Trades Journal* of Nova Scotia on May 18, 1881, "a change of sentiment, as to the relation workmen bear to their employers, and vice versa; and to make the change still more radical is our aim and effort. . . ." Nevertheless, the *Trades Journal* itself maintained the relatively moderate ideological position that no "natural enmity" existed between employer and employee and that strikes were to be used only if peaceful means failed. It contented itself with increasingly bitter attacks on Sir John A. Macdonald and the National Policy for their indifference to the interests of the working man; and not until the late 1880's did it begin to entertain radical ideas such as the single tax schemes of Henry George.

Meanwhile, in central Canada a more revolutionary doctrine was being pronounced and advocated, that of the Knights of Labor. When the remarkable success of the young Order in the United States began to have its effect north of the border in the 1880's, particularly in Ontario, the *Labor Union* of Hamilton served as an enthusiastic agent for Knights of Labor propaganda. It carried news and articles related to T. V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman, and other leaders of the Knights, and it reprinted frequently the Order's ringing preamble and declaration, which deplored the contemporary "development and aggression of aggregated wealth" and warned of the likely consequences for the "toiling masses." A second influence in the early eighties, which worked in harmony with that of the Knights of Labor in the pages of the *Labor Union*, was the personality and ideas of Henry George. Such has been the weakness of the radical tradition in Canada that Henry George's name and presence have almost been forgotten in this connection, but in the 1880's George was a force to be reckoned with in working class affairs. The editor of the *Labor Union* was plainly swept away by George's famous eloquence when he wrote on January 20, 1883: "Henry George's book *Progress and*

*Poverty* is now to be had for 20 cents complete! Buy it; read it; get its truths by heart and then lend it to your neighbour."

The *Labor Union* deliberately took up the role of propagandist. Its endeavour was so to influence "the public opinion of the industrial classes . . . that they will seek for more thorough going and radical measures of reform than any as yet put forth in any Canadian political platform." There can be no doubt of the paper's faith in doctrinaire radicalism. "They [the industrial classes] should be led to see that the ultimate object in view is not merely to tinker and patch a rotten and corrupt social system, but to replace it by a better and juster one" (March 3, 1883). "Our mission," proclaimed the editor, on January 13, 1883, "Is to Spread the Light":

to expose the inequalities of distribution by which the few are enriched at the expense of the many. To call things by their right names, and to point out to workingmen how these iniquities can be redressed and every man receive the full reward of his toil. The party press is so committed to vested wrongs, so bound up with the system against which labor is contending that it is vain to expect much aid in the battle from that quarter. It is only by workingmen—a term which we use as including all workers for wages, whether with hand or head or both combined—supporting publications in their own interest that they can hope to see public opinion moulded in favour of needed reforms. . . .

More important than any of the specific goals it discussed, such as instituting the single tax of Henry George, was the *Labor Union's* stand against the tendency of what it claimed to be the dominant social philosophy of the day, "The Gospel of 'Greed and Grab'": "Talking the other day with an upholder of land and railroad monopoly, usury and other methods of legalized robbery, he defended the existing system on the scientific ground of the survival of the fittest. . . . There is reason to believe that this view is widely prevalent among those who consider it necessary to make some sort of defence for society as at present constituted, and whom a smattering of popular science has familiarized with the rudiments of evolution hypothesis." The editor launched what is in fact a vigorous attack on the ethics of Social Darwinism on February 3, 1883: "The 'survival of the fittest' does not mean the survival of the best. Frequently the very qualities which tend to make a man amiable, to elevate his character, to ennoble and dignify him, are calculated to retard his success in life. . . . To accept the doctrines of the survival of the fittest as applied to present industrial conditions is simply to put a premium upon greed, cunning, injustice and dishonesty—and to stamp the virtues and graces which alone make life endurable as so many hindrances to advancement."

For its connection with the Knights of Labor, its open advocacy of George's economic theories, its root and branch attitudes to social

evils, the *Labor Union* naturally incurred the wrath of those members of established society who chose to take it seriously. On February 10, 1883, the editor defended himself eloquently against the (at that time) novel charge of being "communist": "It is cunning and not industry; selfishness and not generosity; unscrupulousness and not honesty that are favoured by the commercial ethics of today. If to denounce and oppose this rotten system, and to desire to alter it peaceably by the ballot and the spread of intelligence; if to look for the dawn of a brighter day, when, with equal conditions and opportunities men's work shall be rewarded according to its value to society; if this be communism we have no desire to disclaim the accusation."

The *Palladium of Labor*, as its predecessor had done on occasion, acknowledged its ideological indebtedness to the English radical tradition—to Ernest Jones, Feargus O'Connor, Henry Vincent, and other leaders of the Chartist movement. The *Palladium* also paid tribute to more illustrious English intellectual leaders: "Men like Ruskin and Morris, who in spite of the class bias and the social pressure which are all in the direction of conservatism, speak out boldly for social reform, are the salt of the earth" (January 19, 1884). But also like the *Labor Union*, the *Palladium's* connection with the Knights of Labor and with Henry George is more immediate. On the September, 1883, agenda of the *Palladium's* fictitious discussion group, "Our Social Club," is Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. On September 1 of the same year, Goldwin Smith, "that notorious corrupter of public opinion," is rebuked by the editor for his criticism of George's land taxation theories. The editor has done a little research to gain material to refute Goldwin Smith, and has found an incriminating statement in a Goldwin Smith article of February, 1873, in the *Canadian Monthly and National Review*: "It is sometimes necessary in the interest of property itself to control the abuse or even the extreme consequences of ownership. . . . The bold bad man who penned these 'communistic', 'revolutionary' sentiments, actually had the audacity to father his incendiary production. And the name of this 'agrarian socialist', this advocate of confiscation and 'Satanism' and everything wicked and destructive is—Goldwin Smith!"

Throughout 1884 Goldwin Smith was a favourite object of attack in the *Palladium*. Support came in the person of Henry George himself, who appeared before Hamilton audiences on what the *Palladium* reports, on August 4, as a triumphant visit to speak under the auspices of the Knights of Labor. In his characteristically simple but eloquent style, George congratulated that organization for going beyond the slighter purposes of "merely local combination," that is, of trade

unionism. A basic alteration in the social order was required, though George reminded his audience that his own methods were those not of the socialist, but rather of the "land reformer." To Goldwin Smith's favourite historical defence of the existing order, George objected. It is not true that "slavery was formerly the lot of the working classes generally," as the former Oxford Professor of History liked to assert, and George could quote "the old rhyme of our forefathers, in which the original state of mankind is portrayed," by way of refutation: "When Adam delved and Eve span, / Who was then the gentleman?"

Yet it is evident, despite the *Palladium's* advocacy of Henry George and its supporting attacks on the Manchester School liberalism of Goldwin Smith, that the labour newspaper inclined towards a social philosophy little more acceptable to one than to the other. The single tax was a proposal to correct the worst abuses of industrial urbanism, but it was a proposal that at the same time held out the promise of preserving the individualistic philosophy by which Herbert Spencer and other apologists justified the course of modern free enterprise. George himself readily acknowledged his own indebtedness to Spencer in spite of Spencer's repudiation. The *Palladium*, on the other hand, continually attacked the doctrines of laissez-faire individualism. "We have steadily and consistently contended," said the editor on November 3, 1883, "that the sphere of government must be considerably widened and that the only way to rid society of the results of the competitive system and the establishment of monopolies is to gradually increase the functions of the governing body." This position was antithetical to the views of both Henry George and Herbert Spencer. "Harcourt," a member of the *Palladium's* "Social Club," explicitly advocates the principle of collectivism as opposed to individualism, and he apparently speaks (November 10, 1883) with the editor's sympathy: "Many Labor Reformers regret this process [the swallowing up of small enterprises by large], and consider it as a step in the wrong direction. Well, Collectivism, instead of sighing for the old days of individual enterprise would carry the tendency towards association still farther and abolish all competition by making government and society one immense joint stock company for carrying on the work of the country."

A more philosophical statement of these issues is to be found in the series of columns appearing in 1885 under the pseudonym "Enjolras." Enjolras brings his readers into the heart of a battle of fundamental significance being carried on by Herbert Spencer and others against the social tendencies of his age in these years. "Herbert Spencer," Enjolras observes on March 28, referring particularly to his *Man versus the State* of 1884, "is beyond doubt the ablest as he is the most

logical and consistent exponent of the *laissez-faire* or go-as-you-please theory of government. His doctrine is that the true function of a government is simply the performance of police duty. . . ."

Mr. Spencer is quite right in his contention that the Liberalism and Radicalism of today is taking a different direction from that of fifty years ago—that every year its tendency is more and more to involve the interference of government to interfere with 'the liberty of the subject', when that liberty is used by those who control the means of production, the natural resources and tools of trade to tyrannize over their fellows and deny them the liberty to live; but the man who has professedly the welfare of his fellows at heart, must be strangely warped and biased by his theories if he sees in this tendency cause for regret, instead of rejoicing. What is stranger still, is that so ardent an upholder of the evolutionary hypothesis as Mr. Spencer should not recognize in this notable social development the harmonious working of evolution.

For, according to Enjolras, society has been evolving in a way which, judged by Spencer's own premises, contradicts the English philosopher's conclusions. On April 11 Enjolras uses the views expressed in Spencer's *Social Statics* to condemn those of *Man versus the State*; and the "scientific" methods of Spencer's philosophy to reveal the "prejudices" of his social attitudes: "Individualism tried by the tests which Spencer himself defines is found wanting, and the drift of events is rapidly substituting collectivism and setting effective legislative limits to the powers of organized wealth and charter-monopoly for injustice and oppression."

The *Labor Union* and the *Palladium of Labor* reveal an ideological development from the days of the *Ontario Workman*. They suggest a radicalism that was in a freely germinating phase during which conceptions drawn from varying and sometimes contradictory sources were seized upon and held as criticisms of and alternatives to the existing order. There is a sense of enthusiasm for novel ideas, as when on September 20, 1885, the *Palladium* enters into an explanatory discussion of such terms as "bourgeois" and "proletariat" for the benefit of those readers who might not yet be familiar with them. There is an endeavour to apply in a practical way to the contemporary Canadian scene social theories and ideas advanced in discussions being carried on elsewhere, an endeavour rarely paralleled by other Canadian journals of the time.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>The *Palladium's* grudging praise of Goldwin Smith in his role of "Bystander" on one occasion is revealing in this connection: "Having said some severe but true things lately of Mr. Goldwin Smith, it is only just that we should not overlook one point in his favor. Prejudiced though he is the Professor, nevertheless, undertakes to discuss, after a fashion, what he terms 'socialistic theories' instead of ignoring them. In this he is ahead of his contemporaries who rarely venture even on the semblance of an argument in relation to the class of social and industrial reforms concerning which Bystander had so much to say." (Oct. 20, 1883)

The radicals of the eighties recognized fully how remote they were from any of the political platforms of the day. The Liberal party in its origins may have held out hope to the radicals, especially "that brave old rebel, William Lyon Mackenzie, to whose stern resistance to the tyranny of Family Compactism we owe the degree of liberty we possess"; but its path since 1837, with men like George Brown in the van, led nowhere near the desired direction. George Brown is condemned on the grounds that he "did his best to keep his party non-progressive and to ostracize and drive out men of broader ideas. His liberalism was that of the typical bourgeois—for the struggling masses he had no feeling. . . . Hence his opposition to Trade Unions and Labor movements. . . ."<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, there is an evident conviction among radical writers of the eighties that their ideas were of the greatest relevance and importance, and that "the 'utopian visions' of today are the established facts of tomorrow."<sup>14</sup>

The *Labor Advocate*, on December 5, 1890, announced a more thorough, consistent and systematic radicalism:

The labor question will be presented as a much wider question than that between employer and employee as regards wages and hours. It ought, at this stage to be generally understood that no permanent or satisfying solution is possible which does not change the underlying conditions of industrial servitude, by an entire reorganization of the system of distribution. Realizing that the monopoly of land, capital and the means of exchange and transportation is the cause of the poverty of the masses, the *Labor Advocate* will keep steadfastly in view the need of abolishing monopoly in all its forms, and asserting the right of the workers to control for their own benefit all the opportunities and requisites for production. At the same time it will strenuously urge such temporary and partial reforms as are likely in some degree to better the lot of the toiler and to lead up to more radical measures in the future.

The *Labor Advocate* was in close touch with radical movements elsewhere in the world, and carried weekly "Socialist Notes" to keep its readers up to date. In particular, two noteworthy additions to those left-wing supporters of international reputation known in Canada were displayed in the first issue of the weekly. It included (along with an editorial on "Henry George's Career and its Lesson") a strong recommendation of the *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, the Fabian Society's programme for gradualist socialism, and familiar allusions to the "Nationalism" propounded by Edward Bellamy in *Looking Backward* (1888).

Where the *Palladium of Labor* could merely offer accounts of its fictitious "Social Club," the *Labor Advocate* announced and reported meetings of the actual "Single Tax Association" and the "Nationalist

<sup>13</sup>*Palladium of Labor*, Nov. 2, 1884.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, April 25, 1885.



Club" (Bellamyite nationalism) and similar groups, holding regular programmes to discuss radical social philosophies. The editor spoke with an increased assurance and decisiveness which suggests a greater doctrinal certainty. Goldwin Smith is now easily pigeon-holed, and by May 15, 1891, need be argued with no longer: "Prof. Smith, like many others who pass for Radicals, is living in the past. His Radicalism is the radicalism of a quarter of a century ago or more, and he is as impervious as any moss-backed Tory to the significance of changed conditions and to any sense of the real perils and needed safeguards of society at the end of the century." Herbert Spencer can now be patronized—"Anything that Mr. Spencer writes is of course worth reading"—but by April 3, 1891, his individualistic social philosophy, seen from the vantage point of a mature radicalism, can be discarded readily:

It is well that the declining cause of Individualism possesses so redoubtable a champion for when the admitted skill and reasoning power of one of the ablest of living scientists can make no better showing than Mr. Spencer has done in his recent anti-Socialist utterances, it is sufficient to demonstrate the weakness of his cause. . . . Individualism in the true sense of the word is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. Modern industrial conditions are destroying it. The alternative lies not between the "bondage" of Socialism, and the freedom of Individualism, but between Socialism and the iron rule of monopoly. For government under existing conditions to refuse to govern is simply to abdicate in favour of concentrated Capitalism; to let society be ruled by railroad, money and factory kings.

For the advanced socialist of the 1890's it is easy to place the earlier radicalism in the pattern of development leading up to his own position; so, for example, on March 27, 1891, Henry George's theory is disposed of in this ingenious way: "The Single Tax movement is the Unitarianism of political economy—a half-way house where the investigator may find rest for a breathing spell, but not a permanent abode. In nine cases out of ten he will either go on thinking and apply to other social abuses, arguments used by the Single Taxer in regard to land monopoly, and so develop into a full-blown all-round Socialist, or if his courage fails him at the prospect, he will be scared back to orthodoxy. . . . The Single Tax movement is doing excellent work in breaking the ground for Socialism. . . ."

In part the confident dogmatism of the *Labor Advocate* must be attributed to a more informed understanding both of socialist ideas elsewhere in the world and of the immediate economic conditions in North America. In part the editor of the newspaper, T. Phillips Thompson,<sup>15</sup> poetaster, journalist and notorious radical, was no doubt

<sup>15</sup>In 1895 Thompson, along with Alfred Jury, achieved local fame by providing the immediate reason for the student's strike at the University of Toronto, when the Political Science Club refused to accept the Senate's decision that these spokesmen of

personally responsible. He had already contributed to the social philosophy of the workingman by publishing *The Politics of Labor* in 1887, a reasoned attempt to draw labour into the political world as a united class conscious force. "Many who are keenly alive to labor's disabilities have not yet progressed beyond the idea of trade-unionism," Thompson complains, "and regard the question as simply a difference between the laborer and his immediate employer respecting hours and wages" (p. 73).

In the manner of the discussions of Herbert Spencer in the *Palladium of Labor*, Thompson rejects the doctrines of Social Darwinism. An "outcast class" has been created, he claims, with the endorsement of that philosophy: "the under dogs of the world's fight, the wrecks and failures of humanity, the 'unfittest' who do not 'survive', the weakest who go to the wall in the struggle, who fear no future in this or any other world, who have neither hope nor energy nor ambition left . . ." (p. 74). At the other extreme are the exploiting capitalist class and its supporters. Tradition and culture hallow this group, and Thompson is savage in his condemnation of this aspect of opposition to reform and to social justice: "the bitter hostility of the supercilious and cynical 'culture' which apes European models and cultivates undemocratic habits of thought, from the ranks of which capitalism recruits its host of literary hirelings and professional henchmen" (p. 143).

The root of the trouble lies in that basic social philosophy underlying capitalism which had learned to draw support from the authority of science. Herbert Spencer, as the leading spokesman of those who had endeavoured to apply the doctrine of evolution to man's social life and order, receives careful attention from Thompson. Thompson of course denies that the determinism carried over in the biological analogy actually belongs to man's social life; but there is a forecast

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labour could not be allowed to address the student body. But Thompson's radicalism has a long history. In 1864, while Confederation was being discussed widely, a pamphlet appeared entitled, "The Future of Canada, Being arguments in Favor of a British American Independent Republic, comprising a Refutation of the Position taken by the Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, in the British American Magazine for a Monarchical Form of Government. By T. Phillips Thompson, of St. Catharines, C. W." For all practical purposes that argument was lost when George Brown led the Liberals safely away from republican excesses. Ten years later Thompson took his revenge by publishing, under his newspaper pseudonym of Jimuel Briggs, a boisterous satire on the bourgeois liberalism of George Brown. For thirty years thereafter Thompson's name appeared in newspapers and magazines under arguments for radical and labour causes. From 1864 until his death in 1927 Thompson succeeded in remaining well to the left in the political movements in Canada, however much they altered with the passing of time.



of a later development in the history of socialist thinking when he nevertheless attempts to find a place for the proletarian movement in the picture of society in evolution:

The acceptance of the evolution theory as applied to the growth of human society does not, as some have argued, imply a passive acquiescence in abuses in the spirit of fatalism. Evolution is not a blind, inexorable force. The direction of its working is capable of being changed by a change in conditions; and potent among these are the opinions and actions of the social units, still more those of larger combinations. "In a society," says Herbert Spencer, "living, growing, changing, every new factor becomes a permanent force, magnifying more or less the direction of movement determined by the aggregate of forces." Such a new factor in the transition stage upon which we have entered is educated and organized labor. (pp. 83-4)

There is more to this reasoning than the simple rejection of Social Darwinism. The evolution of society as seen through proletarian eyes, the view that the Socialist millenium is inevitably approaching through natural processes, comes into its own in Canadian radical journals in the early twentieth century, when the agrarian and industrial "boom" fostered evolutionary optimism at all social levels. To it can perhaps be attributed, in part, the absence of the doctrine of revolutionary violence in Phillips Thompson's book: "the sound, practical common-sense and right feeling of the majority of the working class are decidedly against violence, except as a last resort. . . . In evolution, not in revolution lies the solution. . . ." (p. 81)

From the evidence of the labour press, the intellectual developments of a quarter of a century since the *Ontario Workman* of 1875 had carried the proletarian ideology a long way. In those early days labour was concerned with immediate problems, of hours and wages mainly, and acquiesced in the capitalistic order of growing industrial urbanism. In the eighties, with the growth in size and strength of the working class, some members began to entertain ideas of basically altering the system which was fostering it, and eagerly drew on a bewildering variety of subversive doctrines for the means to carry out their intentions. The radicals remained the obscure "lunatic fringe" of society, but their analysis of current social developments towards "collectivism" (however impractical and distasteful their proposals at the time) was often better informed than that of more respectable citizens, as later years proved.

By the nineties some radicals were becoming less eclectic and both more consistent and more dogmatic. Here were prophetic hints of the early twentieth century, when left-wing sects and cults burgeoned forth throughout Canada, as radicals still failed to achieve responsible

status, prestige or respectability in society.<sup>16</sup> Only later, in the international calamity of the Great Depression, by which time the material and political aims of the National Policy had largely been fulfilled, had proletarian ideals grown powerful and acceptable enough to enter prominently into the national political debate. By then it was evident that few of the problems of the workingman had been solved by the National Policy which had helped to spawn him. But the success of that policy seemed to ensure that their recurrence and their working out, whenever that might be, should take place within the framework of the nation of Canada.

<sup>16</sup>See S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto, 1948), where the sociology of religions is treated; in some respects the situation of minority political and religious groups in this period may be considered analogous.

## The Anse au Foulon, 1759: Montcalm and Vaudreuil

C. P. STACEY

THE YEAR 1959 sees the two hundredth anniversary of Wolfe's siege of Quebec and of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, probably the most famous series of episodes in Canadian history. It is perhaps an appropriate moment to discuss one incident which seems to have become an accepted part of the affair as described by Canadian historians writing in English; even though this involves imposing upon the reader a new examination of old evidence.<sup>1</sup>

The incident in question is the alleged interference by the Governor of New France, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, with the supposed desire of Lieutenant-General the Marquis de Montcalm on September 12, 1759 to station at the Anse au Foulon ("Wolfe's Cove") a battalion of regular infantry, the Second Battalion of the Régiment de Guienne. This action if taken would presumably have prevented Wolfe's successful landing there the following morning. It is a small event; yet, obviously, if it really took place as described, one of tremendous importance. There is, however, little reason to believe that it took place, and considerable evidence to suggest that it did not.

A few quotations will serve to show how thoroughly this episode has become established in our historiography. The late Professor G. M. Wrong accepted the story and included it in *The Rise and Fall of New France*<sup>2</sup> in these terms:

From a little bay which the French called The Foulon . . . there was a narrow winding road up the cliff to a point a mile and a half west of Quebec. . . . This one approach to the heights made Montcalm nervous. The regiment of Guienne lay on the extreme right of his line and on September 5 he moved it

<sup>1</sup>The investigation on which this article is based was undertaken in connection with the writing of a short book on the Quebec campaign of 1759 which is being published in 1959 by The Macmillan Company of Canada.

<sup>2</sup>Two vols., New York, 1928, II, 844-5.

to the open space west of Quebec known as the Plains of Abraham. . . . Vaudreuil, nervous about the empty entrenchments near his own headquarters at Beauport, sent on September 6 reinforcements to Bougainville and the regiment of Guienne was marched back to its former quarters. Perhaps, in doing this, the governor wished to assert his authority as against Montcalm. . . . Montcalm was still nervous and on the 12th ordered the regiment to return, but Vaudreuil suspended the order, saying "We will see about it to-morrow"; and to-morrow not Guienne but Wolfe's army held the heights.

Professor E. R. Adair likewise accepts the story in his scholarly presidential address on Wolfe before the Canadian Historical Association,<sup>3</sup> speaking of Vaudreuil's "famous 'nous verrons cela demain.'" A special twist (the source of which, we shall see, can probably be identified) is given to the story by Professor Gerald S. Graham, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London, in *Empire of the North Atlantic*:<sup>4</sup> "Baffled as he might well have been by the intricate covering movements of Saunders's squadron, Montcalm seems to have guessed Wolfe's plan. On September 12, he ordered a battalion of French regulars to take up station at the Anse du Foulon. He was not commander-in-chief, however, and Vaudreuil blocked his design by issuing counter-orders, along with the alleged pronouncement: 'Those English have not got wings—I'll see about it to-morrow.'" "G. F. G. Stanley in *Canada's Soldiers* does not include the "to-morrow" remark; but he blames Vaudreuil both for the removal of Guienne from the Foulon area on September 6 and for "apparently" preventing its return later.

The authors of general histories of Canada have taken up the incident. Thus Professor Wrong used it again in *The Canadians*,<sup>5</sup> and D. G. Creighton tells it in his excellent one-volume history *Dominion of the North*.<sup>6</sup> We also find it in J. M. S. Careless, *Canada, A Story of Challenge*; while on the high school level Professor George W. Brown's widely used and admirable *Building the Canadian Nation* has now made the incident known to a whole generation of young Canadians.

It should be added that the episode as described above has never established itself in Canadian historical writing in French; French-Canadian historians have usually preferred interpretations more favourable to Vaudreuil. Nor, apparently, has it succeeded in crossing the unfortified frontier; for Professor Lawrence Gipson, though he did not go beyond the more obvious of the original sources, noted the significant absence in Montcalm's journal of any reference to difference

<sup>3</sup>"The Military Reputation of Major-General James Wolfe," Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1936.

<sup>4</sup>Toronto, 1950, 186.

<sup>5</sup>Toronto, 1938, 185.

<sup>6</sup>Boston, 1944, 141.

of opinion between Montcalm and Vaudreuil on the questions here raised.<sup>7</sup>

## I

A search for the origins of the incident as set forth in so many modern books reveals, first, that it is not found in the older accounts, including Parkman's; and secondly, that there is no reference to it in various contemporary sources where one might have expected to find it. Vaudreuil, indeed, in the long dispatch to the Minister of Marine dated October 5, 1759, which is his apologia for the loss of Quebec, tells precisely the reverse story. Speaking of the night of September 12-13, he writes: "Je comptois beaucoup sur le bon de Guienne, je le croiois toujours sur les hauteurs de Quebec, mais M. de Montcalm l'avoit rappellé, le même jour à l'entrée de la nuit sans m'en prévenir."<sup>8</sup>

One soon discovers that the story blaming Vaudreuil stems from a single document which came to light early in the present century in the archives of the archbishopric of Quebec: a fragment of the diary of Father Jean-Félix Récher, parish priest of Quebec. The passage in question may be quoted at once: "12 [Septembre]. Mercredi, ordre donné par M. de Montcalm et ensuite révoqué par M. de Vaudreuil disant nous verrons cela demain, au bataillon de Guyenne d'aller camper au foulon."<sup>9</sup> The dissemination of this story is certainly due to the late Colonel William Wood, who disliked Vaudreuil intensely and doubtless welcomed the appearance of this piece of damning testimony against him. Monsignor Têtu, who published it, pointed out that there was much evidence against the statement, but Wood accepted it without question and proceeded to exaggerate its importance. Récher, he wrote, "was in close touch with all the leading men on the French side."<sup>10</sup> On the basis of the portions of the Récher diary we have, this is quite unjustified. Father Récher, as curé of Quebec, lived in the Seminary and worked among the people of the city. His journal is a record of minor ecclesiastical intelligence and city gossip; it mentions no contacts with the political or military leaders of the colony, and the information it contains would have been familiar to any citizen. It would be hard to imagine a person much less likely than the parish priest of Quebec to have first-hand knowl-

<sup>7</sup>L. H. Gipson, *The Great War for the Empire: The Victorious Years, 1758-1760* (The British Empire before the American Revolution, vol. VII; New York, 1949), 413n.

<sup>8</sup>Archives des Colonies, F 3, vol. 15 (transcript, Public Archives of Canada).

<sup>9</sup>Mgr H. Têtu, "M. Jean-Félix Récher, Curé de Québec, et son Journal, 1757-1760," *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, IX (April, May, and June, 1903).

<sup>10</sup>*The Fight for Canada* (Boston, 1906), 338.

edge of relations between Montcalm and Vaudreuil. He does not tell us where he got the story he records under the date September 12, but considering who he was the most likely source is hearsay. Whether he really set down the entry on September 12, or whether, after the manner of diarists, he wrote it at a later time, is something we shall presumably never know. The statement is the sort which it would normally be dangerous to accept without corroboration from a second witness; and as we shall see no such corroboration is available.

## II

The Guienne battalion was in fact moved to the vicinity of the Anse au Foulon and later withdrawn; this is well authenticated by many contemporary documents. But it happened not on September 12 but several days earlier, and there is no evidence of any disagreement between Montcalm and Vaudreuil on the action taken. We had better review the facts.

The general situation at this moment is well known. At the end of August Wolfe had accepted the sound advice of his brigadiers to abandon his camp below Montmorency Falls, concentrate his little army on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, and prepare to land above Quebec where he would be across Montcalm's vital line of communication. Strong British naval and military detachments were in the river above the city, and they were being watched by a French mobile force under Colonel de Bougainville, who had orders to follow the British ships as they moved up and down and prevent any landing. The various points in the area where paths led up the St. Lawrence cliffs were guarded by static detachments (which were also under Bougainville); one of these was at the Anse au Foulon.

Vaudreuil, after the disaster, was determined to prove that he had been fully alert to the danger above the city and that Montcalm had been largely blind to it. One piece of evidence which he produced was a letter from Montcalm to himself dated July 29.<sup>11</sup> However, this letter pretty clearly refers to apprehension on Vaudreuil's part of a direct waterborne attack on the city rather than of a descent near the Foulon. Incidentally, we know from Wolfe's journal and correspondence<sup>12</sup> that about this time consideration was being given to such a direct attack, and it is probable that naval reconnaissances connected with the

<sup>11</sup>Annexed to Vaudreuil to the Minister, Oct. 5, 1759, above, note 8.

<sup>12</sup>Wolfe's Journal, July 28, 1759 (McGill University Museum version, photostat in P.A.C.): "Difficulties arising about our attack & assault on the Town." Wolfe to [Monckton], n.d. but evidently of July 28 or 29, 1759 (P.A.C., Northcliffe Collection, Monckton Papers, XXII): "Our allies of the Navy, have examined the Place (the Town) & think it formidably *entrenched within*."



scheme had alarmed Vaudreuil. Montcalm told him in this letter that he would strengthen the city if he desired it, but that this could not be done without abandoning "the position you occupy at the moment," that is, the Beauport lines, which, by the way, Wolfe actually attacked two days later. The General wrote, "... vous avés outre les habitants 500. hommes de garnison dans la ville, 1.500 hommes sur les bateries, 100 travailleurs armés. Il n'y a qu'à faire des patrouilles exactes et il ne faut pas croire que les ennemis ayent des ailes, pour, la même nuit, traverser, débarquer, monter des rampes rompuës et escalader: d'autant que pour la d[erni]ere operation il faut porter des échelles. . . ."<sup>13</sup> The other piece of evidence produced by Vaudreuil was an undated letter from Montcalm referring to a possible menace to the Anse des Mères, close to the Foulon but nearer the city.<sup>14</sup> This includes the sentence, "Je vous jure que 100 hommes postés arreteroient toute l'armée et nous donneroient le tems d'attendre le jour et d'y marcher par nôtre droite. . . ." And it was true enough that one hundred alert and determined men at the Foulon could have ruined Wolfe's plan.

Our best source of information concerning the situation above the town generally, and the Régiment de Guienne in particular, is the Bougainville correspondence.<sup>15</sup> From it we learn that on September 5, after the British evacuation of Montmorency, Montcalm informed Bougainville that he feared a movement by the enemy to cut the French communications, and was therefore sending him the whole of the Régiment de Guienne except a small detachment; he could either use it in his main force or leave it "dans la communication du cap Rouge, a lance des mers, pour relever les postes ce qui nous nous conviendrait le mieux pour etre a même de rapeler ce regiment s'il etoit besoin dans notre partie." Montcalm's desire to keep Guienne as a general reserve available to act either above or below the city seems evident. Later the same day, apparently, Montreuil, the Adjutant General, wrote to Bougainville that Montcalm had told him to inform him "que le regt. de Guyenne seroit en reserve sur le grand chemin derriere l'anse St Michel ou Sillery pour être a portée de secourir la

<sup>13</sup>An inaccurate recollection of this letter, apparently, led Colonel Wood into a deplorable error in "Unique Quebec" (in *The Centenary Volume of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1824-1924*, Quebec, 1924): "... Vaudreuil gave counter-orders, this time quite angrily and accompanied by the historic imbecility that 'those English haven't got wings—I'll see about it myself to-morrow.'" This in turn seems to have misled Professor Graham, who several times cites "Unique Quebec"; he innocently paraphrased this passage in the paragraph of *Empire of the North Atlantic* quoted above, covering himself only with the blessed word "alleged." This failed to protect him from a really Olympian reproof from Professor Guy Frégault (*Le Grand Marquis: Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil et la Louisiane*, Montreal, 1952, 43n).

<sup>14</sup>Annexed to Vaudreuil to the Minister, Oct. 5, 1759, above, note 8.

<sup>15</sup>A. G. Doughty and G. W. Parmelee, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham* (6 vols., Quebec, 1901), IV, 1-136.

gauche et la droite, il m'a chargé encore de lui dire d'être toujours de l'avant des ennemis c'est à dire plus haut qu'eux. vous êtes le maître de disposer du regt. de Guienne."<sup>16</sup>

It is evident that some consideration was given to using Guienne to replace the militiamen holding the posts along the cliffs between Cap Rouge and Quebec, but that this idea was abandoned, as was also that of using the battalion in Bougainville's main mobile column; it is pretty evident also that these decisions were taken jointly by Montcalm and Vaudreuil. On September 6 Vaudreuil wrote Bougainville:<sup>17</sup>

... Après avoir conféré avec M. le Marquis de Montcalm j'approuve fort de laisser dans les meme postes de la communication depuis l'ance des meres jusqu'au Cap rouge les meme officiers qui les connaissent et en voicy le detail.

Ance des meres et du foulon M. de Vergor qui a remplace M. de St Martin avec 100 hommes. . . .

Si vous vous croyés assez fort avec ces dispositions comme cela vous parait, nous retirerons le Regiment de Guyenne pour le faire rentrer dans son camp. Ce corps s'écraserait, et auroit bien de la peine a pouvoir se prêter a vos courses j'attendray cependant la reponse a cette lettre pour tout disposer de suite. Suivant cet arrangement a faire rentrer Guyenne qui ne ferait plus d'autre service avec l'armée que de se tenir en mesure pour secourir également l'ance des meres, la ville et la canadière et de fournir le soir un Bivac avec la ville et y fournir un Bivac tous les soirs.

Vaudreuil went on to say that if he concurred, Bougainville should order Guienne back to its camp, taking the precaution however of sending it in small detachments to avoid enemy observation. He was prepared to leave the battalion with Bougainville if the latter thought it important: "Songes seulement que c'est un corps pesant qui ne peut pas faire le métier de courir dans une communication. . . . A legard de laisser Guienne à l'ance des meres cela ne se peut parce qu'il n'y a pas de bois." (Presumably the wood was needed for cooking.)

On the same day Vaudreuil wrote again to Bougainville: "Guyenne est rentré."<sup>18</sup> The Adjutant General assured Bougainville, "Si les ennemis se portent en force vers St Augustin on vous enverra sur le compte que vous en rendrez le regt. de Guyenne avec armes et bagages que vous partageriez à St Augustin et a la pointe au tremble, ou ensemble a votre choix."<sup>19</sup> The Guienne battalion remained a general mobile reserve, but it was now stationed in its former position at the west end of the main camp, near the St. Charles, instead of on the heights of Abraham. Duly performing its role, it was the first unit

<sup>16</sup>Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, IV, 93, Montcalm and Montreuil to Bougainville, Sept. 5, 1759.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 99-101. Transcript, P.A.C., Bougainville Papers, vol. 2, has been followed where it differs.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 101-3.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 103-4, Montreuil to Bougainville, Sept. 6, 1759.

on the battlefield on the morning of the thirteenth; but if it had remained on the heights instead of being withdrawn on the sixth, it is highly probable that Wolfe would never have made the attempt at the Foulon. The tents of a whole battalion near the Foulon path would have been evident to him as he made his reconnaissances and would have been a powerful deterrent.

There is nothing in the available correspondence of Bougainville to indicate that Guienne moved again before the morning of the thirteenth or that there was any further discussion of a move. On the tenth Montcalm wrote to Bougainville calling his attention to the danger of a British landing at "Jacques Cartier or even Deschambault where they have been already," and observing that a prisoner with some information would be very useful. But he added in a postscript the significant phrase, "M. de Vaudr. a plus d'inquietude que moy pour la droite. . . ."<sup>20</sup> (It must be said that this was a very imprudent remark to make to the officer charged with the security of the right.) Montcalm was too competent a soldier to overlook the threat above the city, but it was not his main interest. In a famous letter to Bourlamaque written on September 2 he said, "pour ici, je crois que Wolfe fera comme un joueur de topting [tope et tingle] qui, après avoir topé à la gauche du tope, [tope] a la droite et au milieu."<sup>21</sup> The "middle" was the western portion of the Beauport lines, nearest the St. Charles. On the night of September 12-13, while Wolfe was preparing to land at the Anse au Foulon, Montcalm was anxiously inspecting the defences in this "middle" area, where Admiral Saunders had provided a boat demonstration by way of deception.<sup>22</sup> The "old fox," never particularly good at discerning his adversary's intentions, was badly fooled at the last. That he was deceived by Wolfe's adoption of a plan of operations to which there were grave military objections, and which succeeded only as the result of a whole succession of fortunate chances, is not relevant to the present discussion.

An additional point is worth making. The official relationship of Vaudreuil and Montcalm had been radically altered by dispatches sent from the Court early in 1759 which directed the Governor General to consult and defer to Montcalm in all matters of operations or military administration.<sup>23</sup> These new orders seem to have had less

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 116-17.

<sup>21</sup>P.A.C., Bourlamaque Papers. H.-R. Casgrain, *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis* [V], *Lettres de M. de Bourlamaque au Chevalier de Lévis* (Quebec, 1891), 347-8, improves the passage somewhat.

<sup>22</sup>P.A.C., Lévis Papers, Montcalm's Journal, Sept. 12-13, 1759; published in Casgrain, *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis* [VII] (Quebec, 1895).

<sup>23</sup>Archives des Colonies, B, vol. 109, The Minister to Vaudreuil and Bigot, Feb. 3 [?], 1759 (transcript, P.A.C.).

practical effect than one might have expected; but they certainly strengthened Montcalm's hand in such a discussion as is alleged to have taken place on September 12, particularly since the troops concerned were a battalion of his own regular force. He would have been quite within his rights in refusing to allow Vaudreuil to interfere.

### III

Two pieces of evidence remain to be noticed. One is the account in the *Dialogue in Hades* by the Chevalier Johnstone,<sup>24</sup> a document which the present writer has come to consider has been allowed too much importance by historians. (It tells a number of stories which are quite unsupported by other evidence.) Johnstone, an A.D.C. of Lévis who was with Montcalm in the days just before the Battle of the Plains, asserts that on his own suggestion Montcalm on September 11 ordered the Adjutant General to encamp Guienne on the heights of Abraham. He makes Montcalm say, "Why this regiment continued the 12th in this camp at the hornwork [the entrenchment covering the eastern end of the bridges over the St. Charles River], in spite of my express orders to encamp upon the heights, I know not; and can only attribute Montreuil's disobedience of my orders to the weakness of his judgment and understanding." Here nothing is said of Vaudreuil. The story is inherently rather improbable, for Montcalm, as we have seen, was paying special attention at this period to the right flank of the Beauport position, and if a battalion which he had ordered moved west of the St. Charles had remained east of it he could scarcely have failed to be aware of the fact. This version may be a garbled reminiscence of the events of September 5-6; as we have seen, Montreuil was concerned in issuing the orders at that time. But the other document may have some bearing on the matter.

The other document is Montcalm's own journal, which at this time was being kept for him by the artillery officer Montbeillard.<sup>25</sup> The journal says, on the whole, remarkably little about these various events. It notes on September 4, "Le Reg<sup>t</sup>. de Guyenne est campé tout a fait a droite<sup>26</sup> pour se porter par tout où le besoin l'Exigeroit et même au dessus de Québec s'il le falloit." The movements on September 5 and 6 are simply not mentioned—which could scarcely be the case if there had been a serious controversy with Vaudreuil, for this journal seldom misses an opportunity to abuse or ridicule the

<sup>24</sup>*Manuscripts relating to the Early History of Canada: Recently published under the Auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec* (Quebec, 1868).

<sup>25</sup>Thomas Chapais, *Le Marquis de Montcalm* (Quebec, 1911), 572-5. The journal is in the Lévis Papers.

<sup>26</sup>That is, on the right of the Beauport position, in the St. Charles valley.

Governor General. There is no reference to Guienne on the twelfth either. On the thirteenth, however, after referring to the signal made from Quebec early in the morning "pour indiquer qu'il avoit passé quelque chose," Montbeillard writes, "Par quelle fatalités, au Signal de la ville, n'envoya-t-on pas Savoir des nouvelles, et le Reg<sup>t</sup>. de Guyenne qu'on avoit resolu de faire camper sur les hauteurs au-dessus de Québec, étoit-il Encore dans notre camp?"<sup>27</sup>

This passage was apparently written about ten days after the battle. Here again there is no word of Vaudreuil. And here again we may have merely a reflection of the movements of Guienne on September 5-6. Nevertheless, the relative similarity of Montbeillard's version to Johnstone's makes one pause. Is it really possible that Montcalm issued new orders to move Guienne and that they simply were not carried out? It is, as we have said, inherently improbable but it is not impossible. Nor is it impossible that Vaudreuil interfered with the execution of the orders, but neither Johnstone nor Montbeillard says so, even by implication.

One other reference deserves attention. Information from the British side in this matter is of secondary importance, for it can only be based on hearsay; but there is a passage in the so-called "Journal of Major Moncrief" (which appears actually to be the journal of Patrick Mackellar, Wolfe's chief engineer) which is relevant. The writer describes the first contact with "a picket of the battalion of Guiana" near the Foulon early on September 13, and proceeds: "By some accounts that we had afterwards the whole battalion was to have come upon this ground the night before, but by some lucky incident deferred it; some say they were detained by the French general himself, upon receiving intelligence by a deserter that there was a descent to be made that night upon the coast of Beauport."<sup>28</sup> In this context, "the French general" presumably means Montcalm. This is a new version, but somewhat similar to the Johnstone and Montbeillard stories—an order is issued, but is rescinded this time by Montcalm himself. And in the light of what we know about Montcalm's activities on the night in question, the reference to Beauport is at least interesting. Again there is no mention of Vaudreuil.

#### IV

What actually happened? Did Vaudreuil really frustrate a desire of Montcalm to place the Guienne battalion at the Foulon on

<sup>27</sup>Lévis Papers.

<sup>28</sup>Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, V, 51. On "Moncrief" and Mackellar, see Major-General Whitworth Porter, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (London, 1889), I, 190.

September 12? Or did Montcalm really remove it from there on that day without informing Vaudreuil? Since the statements of Vaudreuil and Récher are diametrically opposed, and there is no other definite evidence, we must resort to conjecture, at least to some extent.

It is pretty clear that Vaudreuil's account in his dispatch of October 5, 1759, cannot be literally true. There is no other evidence for it, and since the facts as stated by the Governor would involve an actual movement of troops, both to and from the Foulon, which could not have escaped observation and record, we can write it off.<sup>20</sup> Professor Adair has dismissed Vaudreuil's statement as "almost certainly a lie." He may be right. It is also possible that an elderly gentleman, who had been badly shaken by a succession of shattering events, might have contrived to convince himself in the course of three weeks that things had happened as he said. Perhaps, also, his account, while not literally true, is a confused version of something that actually did happen.

Father Récher's statement is not in quite the same class, since it involves not a troop movement but merely a discussion between the General and the Governor. But we know that Montcalm did not keep silent about his controversies with Vaudreuil—his journal and letters are full of them—and if he had really desired to move the Guienne battalion and been prevented by Vaudreuil it is most unlikely that the fact would have gone unrecorded elsewhere. Récher's account may well be a story that circulated in the city after the battle, the result of the combination of the known facts of Guienne's movement to the Foulon area and withdrawal on September 5-6 and the subsequent British landing at the same place. Quite apart from Mackellar's story, we know from Knox that such tales were going about: he says the British were told that "two French regiments, with a corps of savages, were actually under orders of readiness to march at six o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, and intrench themselves immediately along the heights."<sup>20</sup>

A striking negative feature of the evidence is the silence of almost all the French documents concerning any event on September 12. The absence of any reference in the Bougainville papers has been noted. The movement of Guienne to the heights is mentioned in the *Journal tenu à l'armée*,<sup>21</sup> whose well-informed anonymous author places the event on September 4 and is content to say, "notre malheur voulut . . . qu'on le retirat deux jours après de ce poste." The movements out and

<sup>20</sup>Even the British saw the outward movement of Guienne on September 5, though they exaggerated it into a movement of two battalions: Townshend's journal, Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, V, 285.

<sup>20</sup>Capt. John Knox, *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, ed. Arthur G. Doughty (3 vols., Toronto, 1914), II, 113.

<sup>21</sup>Archives des Colonies, C 11 A, vol. 104-1 (transcript, P.A.C.).



back are also noted in Malartic's journal.<sup>32</sup> Neither of these sources mentions any movement or any discussion on the twelfth.

In the present writer's opinion, the evidence, on balance, is against the story that there was a proposal to move Guienne on the twelfth. The Bougainville papers seem to indicate that the decision of the sixth to move the battalion back across the St. Charles was final, and both Montcalm and Vaudreuil would seem to have been satisfied with it. The tale concerning the twelfth is quite probably a version of the events of September 5-6, distorted by inaccurate recollection or hearsay.

The accounts of Johnstone and Montbeillard—and "Moncrief"—do create some element of doubt. The *Dialogue in Hades* is a doubtful source, and Montbeillard's statement lacks definition. The story they tell is inherently rather unlikely, both because of the improbability of Montcalm's not discovering that an order to move the battalion had not been carried out, unless it had been given very lately, and because of his known anxiety for the area east of the St. Charles. Nevertheless, there is at least a possibility that an order was issued to Guienne on the twelfth to return to the Foulon, and that something happened to prevent its being carried out. And in the light of Mackellar's report it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the something was a counter-order by Montcalm himself. Is it possible too that such a happening, badly garbled in the reporting, is what lies behind the statement in Vaudreuil's dispatch about the Guienne battalion being on the heights? The matter will probably never be fully cleared up.

In any case, however, neither Johnstone nor Montbeillard, nor Moncrief-Mackellar, mentions Vaudreuil. The accusation against the Governor that has been so widely circulated, the "we'll see about that tomorrow" story, remains unsupported by any authority except that of the good curé of Quebec. It is probably time that it stopped circulating.

<sup>32</sup>Comte de Maurès de Malartic, *Journal des Campagnes au Canada de 1755 à 1760* (Paris, 1890), 280-1.

## Thirty Years After: Canadian History in the Universities of the United States

ROBIN W. WINKS

IN 1927 Professor Reginald G. Trotter of Queen's University conducted an inquiry into the extent of formal courses on Canadian history and allied subjects offered in the universities and colleges of the United States. He reported his findings in the *Canadian Historical Review* in September of that year. Since then a world depression and a world war, an extensive "international police action," and the creation of a politically polarized world, have quickened American interest in other nations. American institutions of higher learning have grown at an incredible pace during the three intervening decades, student enrolment has quadrupled, and new courses have proliferated accordingly. Feeling that the time had come for a new assessment of the status of Canadian history in the United States, the present writer, in the spring of 1958, undertook to repeat Professor Trotter's inquiry. For a fuller view of the extent of academic interest in Canadian history, an inquiry into library holdings, textbook sales, and graduate studies was included.

This survey is limited to instruction at the post-high school level. American primary and secondary school students receive some instruction in the history and geography of Canada,<sup>1</sup> but qualitatively this instruction generally leaves much to be desired. It often has been demonstrated that the average American high school student knows little of Canadian affairs.<sup>2</sup> Since none of the courses in Canadian

<sup>1</sup>Dr. May Hall James, Dean of Women of Quinnipiac College, New Haven, Connecticut, recently completed a survey of how students in primary and secondary schools in the United States studied Canada in 1953-4. She found that Canada was studied in some fashion in all of the states, and that in general the most extensive study was in the fifth and sixth grades, with the time devoted to Canada ranging from two to nine weeks. In the seventh and eighth grades Canada is included in geography lessons, and in high school it is touched on in various history and geography courses (New Haven *Evening Register*, Dec. 31, 1957). It should be kept in mind that students entering American universities and colleges have at least a small amount of information at their disposal.

<sup>2</sup>See Arthur A. Hauck, *Some Educational Factors Affecting the Relations between Canada and the United States* (Easton, Pa., 1932), 89-92; Hauck, "Education and Canadian-United States Relations," *National Society for the Study of Education, Thirty-Sixth Yearbook* (Bloomington, Ill., 1937), 271-79; Hauck, "Education and

history in the universities and colleges of the United States is required of the students, most Americans have no further formal instruction on matters Canadian after they leave or complete their pre-college schooling.<sup>3</sup>

## I

In 1927 Professor Trotter found that nineteen American universities and colleges were offering courses in Canadian history. This figure included four institutions which limited such instruction to the summer school. In addition to these, instruction was being given at three institutions which Trotter did not include in his survey, bringing the total number of such courses to twenty-two.<sup>4</sup> A total of "not far short of five hundred students" was enrolled in the nineteen courses discussed in the survey. This enrolment figure, which would have been well over five hundred had the three institutions which he overlooked been included, must be qualified. It represents a total for the year of the survey, not an average for a number of years. As academic administrators know, new courses attract an inordinate enrolment during their first few years, and figures should therefore be based on at least five-year averages rather than on single year totals. Twelve of the nineteen courses were less than five years old and undoubtedly reflected student curiosity nearly as much as genuine interest.

The first course in Canadian history in the United States was offered by Mary W. Williams, a specialist in Latin American history, at Goucher College (a women's institution, then in Baltimore and now in Towson, Maryland), in 1917.<sup>5</sup> This course lapsed in 1921. In 1918 Carl Wittke, later the author of the first satisfactory college text in Canadian history, introduced a course at Ohio State University, and Edmond S. Meany inaugurated a highly successful course at the University of Washington. The following year Professor Trotter himself began at Stanford University what is today the oldest continuously offered course in Canadian history in the United States. Between 1920 and 1927 courses were added at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York,<sup>6</sup> at the University of West Virginia, Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin, Marquette University, Texas Christian University, the University of Redlands, Grinnell College, Trinity University (then in Waxahachie and now in San Antonio, Texas), Waynesburg College in Waynes-

Canadian-United States Relations," *Social Education*, IX (Feb., 1945), 67-70; and American Council on Education, *A Study of National History Textbooks Used in the Schools of Canada and the United States* (Washington, 1947). See also Robin W. Winks, "Canada, Still 'The Unknown Country,'" *Social Education*, XXII (Dec., 1958), 381-3.

<sup>3</sup>The counter to this coin was revealed by Wallace D. Farnham in his paper, "The Study of American History in Canadian Universities," read before the 1958 annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association on June 5; see Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1958, 63-76.

<sup>4</sup>At times Professor Trotter's figures are somewhat vague. The following summary is based upon his article with certain corrections which are indicated by a reading of Edith E. Ware, ed., *The Study of International Relations in the United States: Survey for 1934* (New York, 1934), 280-99, and her subsequent corrections of her own survey in the *Study of International Relations in the United States: Survey for 1937* (New York, 1938), 224-41.

<sup>5</sup>An exception, as Professor Trotter notes (p. 191), was "an isolated course offered to undergraduates in the University of California in the autumn of 1905 by Professor W. S. Ferguson . . . when he held a chair of classical history. . . ."

<sup>6</sup>For an account of the inception of this course see Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., "Some Reasons for Teaching the History of Canada in the Colleges of the United States," *Historical Outlook*, XV (Feb., 1924), 70-1.

burg, Pennsylvania, the University of Maine, the University of North Dakota, North Dakota Agricultural College, and the College of Idaho. Professor Williams introduced Canadian history to the University of Nebraska in the summer of 1924, and Professor Wittke introduced it to the University of Chicago's summer school two years later. Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti and Indiana University also added summer courses in the same year. Professor Wittke initiated a third course, at the State University of Iowa, in 1924.<sup>7</sup>

Professor Trotter noted that Canada was studied in comparative government courses at seven institutions, that Lindsay Rogers at Columbia University was devoting a full semester to the governments of Canada and Australia, and that R. P. Baker included Canadian writers in his course in English literature at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. A formal course in Canadian literature was offered in 1920 by R. M. Garrett at the University of Washington, and Macy M. Skinner of that institution introduced a course in economics which included considerable Canadian material. These two courses, together with Professor Meany's course in Canadian history, undoubtedly made the Seattle school the centre of undergraduate Canadian studies during the second decade of the present century.

Professor Trotter did not take up his survey again, presumably in part because of the pressure of other duties, in part because during the 1930's it was, in effect, continued by Edith E. Ware, under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In 1934 Professor Ware found that courses in Canadian history continued to be the "exception rather than the rule."<sup>8</sup> She did not contact the institutions directly, relying upon a study of college catalogues, and upon this basis (ignoring the fact that some institutions list courses in their catalogues which they do not teach), she found that there had been an increase in courses in Canadian history. By 1933 eighteen additional schools had introduced specific courses in Canadian history, but a number of these courses, as well as several of those noted by Professor Trotter, had lapsed, so that the total offered in 1933 was twenty-six courses. These included Columbia and Harvard, which added undergraduate courses to give a foundation to their already extensive graduate work in Canadian history; the state universities of Delaware, Montana, North Carolina, and Vermont; Catholic University of America, Baldwin-Wallace College in Berea, Ohio, St. Lawrence University in Canton, New York, and New Mexico State Teachers College. Twelve of these courses were given yearly but student enrolment had fallen to "a generous estimate" of four hundred.

A final pre-war survey was taken by Professor Ware on the basis of college catalogues for 1936-7.<sup>9</sup> The history of Canada was taught at twenty-seven institutions, a net increase of one, although the mortality rate of such courses required the addition of five in order to gain this total. The five new courses were

<sup>7</sup>In his survey Professor Trotter included courses on the history of the British Empire, beginning with that offered at the University of Wisconsin in 1907, with a total of twenty-three institutions by 1927. These courses devoted from one-fifth to one-third of their time to Canada. During this time the influence of Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California was seen in the creation of a number of courses in the history of the Americas. In 1919 Bolton added Canada to his course, and two years later Northwestern University and Hamilton College followed. By 1927, with the added help of Ralph Gabriel at Yale University, six more institutions had added similar courses. For the course at Yale see George W. Pierson, *Yale: The University College, 1921-1937* (New Haven, 1955), 390.

<sup>8</sup>Ware, *Survey for 1934*, 280.

<sup>9</sup>Ware, *Survey for 1937*, 224-5.

offered at Baylor University, George Washington University, Bucknell University, St. Louis University, and Simmons College in Boston. In the year of the survey, and thereby overlooked by Professor Ware, Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York, added a course, thus bringing the total to twenty-eight. Professor Ware found such growth "encouraging."

The appointment of Professor A. L. Burt of the University of Alberta to the University of Minnesota in 1930 was one of the more significant events of the decade. Thereafter the university offered work of a high calibre in Canadian history both at the graduate and undergraduate levels, and students of Professor Burt went out to initiate courses of their own at other institutions. Five years earlier Professor John B. Brebner was drawn from the University of Toronto to Columbia where he began a career which was to span more than a quarter of a century, and while his best-known teaching was in English constitutional history, his influence, especially at the graduate level, in creating interest in Canada was scarcely secondary to that of Burt. By the late 1930's Minnesota, Columbia, and Harvard had become the centres of Canadian studies in the United States.

Joining the names of Professors Williams, Wittke, Trotter, Burt, and Brebner as leading pioneers in advancing Canadian studies in the United States must be those of Albert B. Corey and James T. Shotwell. Corey was responsible for the introduction of Canadian history to Waynesburg College in 1926, and in 1928 he pioneered the course at St. Lawrence University, thus becoming the third person to inaugurate two or more courses. In 1933 Shotwell became general editor of what was to become a twenty-five volume series on "The Relations of Canada and The United States," sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The appearance of these volumes between 1936 and 1945 was a significant publishing venture, and it stimulated increased scholarly interest in Canadian history in the United States.

## II

During the spring of 1958 the present writer mailed copies of a questionnaire concerning the status of Canadian studies to the chairman or professor most directly concerned at 110 universities and colleges in the United States. Second and finally third inquiries, the latter a personal letter, were sent to the institutions which seemed reluctant to respond. As a result, 104 replies were received. A careful check was also made of the current college catalogues of some four hundred institutions and where necessary additional forms were sent. The following comments are based upon the answers received. In certain cases, where comments on the questionnaires seemed ambiguous, personal correspondence was used to clarify the nature of a given course. That there will be errors in the writer's conclusions he has no doubt, and for them he accepts full responsibility. To the offended he apologizes in advance. It should be noted that these figures omit institutions which list courses in Canadian history in their most recent catalogues and which did not reply to the writer's questionnaire.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>These are George Washington University, Montana State University, Lincoln Memorial University in Harrogate, Tennessee, Seattle University, and the Northern Center of the University of Kentucky in Covington. From other sources the writer has learned that such a course is taught at Covington and that Seattle offers Canadian history as one of its summer school courses. He has been unable to learn whether such a course is, in fact, taught at the other three institutions. Finally, because of the death of Professor Brebner, the situation at Columbia University is in a state of flux, and that institution has been omitted from consideration at the undergraduate level.

A total of fifty-one institutions list a course in Canadian history in their most recent college catalogues.<sup>11</sup> However, eight of these courses have not been offered recently. At American International College in Springfield, Massachusetts, the course was offered from 1947 to 1955. American University in Washington, D.C., has carried such a course in its catalogue since 1947 but it never has been taught. Radcliffe College lists a course, but it is a duplication of that offered by Harvard. Los Angeles State College offered a course to 1958 but it has now been discontinued. On the other hand, the same course will be inaugurated at the San Fernando Valley Campus of Los Angeles State College in Northridge. Upon the retirement of Professor Burt at Minnesota the course ceased to be taught, although it remains in the catalogue. Canadian history was dropped at Syracuse University in 1950 although it too retains its place in the catalogue. The retirement of Professor Paul Knaplund has left some question at the University of Wisconsin concerning the continuation of the course there. Until recently Canadian history was taught at Champlain College, Plattsburgh, New York, but the school is now closed. Finally, Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, expects to offer Canadian history in the "very near future" but it is not yet actually available. Figures supplied by these institutions could not be used in some of the totals which follow. These eight omissions, and the lack of reply from five institutions, means that the following material is based upon thirty-eight institutions which reported in full and which are actively offering work in Canadian history.

Canadian history is offered every year at seventeen schools. Seven of these schools offer additional courses on Canada to bring the total of courses offered on an annual basis to twenty-five. Seventeen of these courses are for one semester and meet three hours per academic week; two meet for two hours weekly for one semester; one meets five hours weekly for one quarter; and five meet three hours weekly for one quarter. In addition, two schools offer the one-semester course twice each year, one includes it each year in its summer school programme as well, one offers the course at night school as well, and one offers the course through the extension division by the correspondence method. Thirteen institutions offer Canadian history on an alternate-year basis, one of these during summer school and the rest during the regular year. The former institution offers Canadian history during the fall term once every three years, as do three other institutions. One school teaches Canadian history twice in every three-year cycle, and four offer the course "on demand", with an average of once every five years.

The number of students enrolled in such courses does not appear to be substantially larger than in 1927. However, nearly all of these courses have been established over five years, so that it may be assumed that they represent a fairly stable level of interest. The five-year average (1953-8) is 368 students in courses offered annually, with 325 enrolled in annual courses during the academic year 1957-8. Enrolment in Canadian history in annual courses is down at eight schools, up at four, and steady at five. In alternate-year courses the average enrolment for the last ten years is 245, with all either up or steady during the last year in which they were offered.<sup>12</sup> With the other categories of courses included, the

<sup>11</sup>Since there are approximately two thousand colleges and universities in the United States, it will be seen that, as Julian Park has noted, there are "relatively few courses in Canadian history being given at American universities. . . ." *The Culture of Contemporary Canada* (Ithaca, 1957), xiii.

<sup>12</sup>It is worth speculation as to whether this indicates that alternate-year, one-semester courses have the greatest opportunity for success.



average number of students enrolled in Canadian history in any given year over the last five years was 519.

Of the instructors who committed themselves, twenty-five thought that they encountered "real" or "genuine" student interest in Canadian history at their schools, eleven thought that there was "no" or "little" interest, and of the latter several noted that the course was a convenient way to fulfil an education (not history) requirement. Of the instructors teaching Canadian history at the present time, sixteen are members of the Canadian Historical Association and twenty-five are not. As of April, 1958, the Association had a total of 101 members in the United States, so that it is evident that most of these members are not attached to formal courses in Canadian history. A number undoubtedly are Canadian graduate students. Of the total, there were sixty-one individual members, thirty-three affiliated libraries and organizations, five affiliated societies, and two life members.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, while American teachers of Canadian history are not as loyal to the Association as its treasurer might wish, they represent a strong group of practising scholars. Twenty-seven of the teachers have published material on Canadian history or Canadian-American relations, to a reported total of 58 books and pamphlets and 164 articles.<sup>14</sup> Thirty-seven of the instructors have travelled in Canada.

Of the courses under consideration, fourteen are surviving pre-1945 courses and twenty-four are the product of the post-war increase in interest in foreign affairs. Thirteen of these courses began in 1947, three in 1948, two in 1949, one in 1951, two in 1954, two in 1955, and one in 1958. Of the course originators, fourteen were Canadian born, and of those currently teaching the course thirteen are Canadian born. Twenty-six of the courses still are being taught by their originator and thus afford little opportunity to see whether the course will survive the absence of its founder; nine of the courses are in their second generation of teachers and four have reached the third generation or later. The oldest continuously offered course remains that at Stanford, but with the revival of Canadian history at Goucher in 1955, that institution may claim precedence.

Of the thirty-eight schools which continue to offer courses in Canadian history, seven have or soon will have sufficient undergraduate courses to be called "Canadian studies programmes." The most extensive programme, and the only one with an official title of this nature, is at the University of Rochester, where three separate courses are offered: a survey history, a course on Canadian-American relations, and a course devoted to French-Canadian history. This programme, which has received some public notice in Canada,<sup>15</sup> is directed by Mason Wade, undoubtedly the outstanding authority on French Canada teaching in the United States today.

At Michigan State University Alvin C. Gluek, Jr., a former student of A. L. Burt's, has offered Canadian and Canadian-American relations courses since 1954. There is considerable interest in Canada at East Lansing, and President John A. Hannah is serving as the American chairman of the Permanent Joint Board.

<sup>13</sup>Ninety-four of these members are listed in the Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1957, 99-113. Seven members were added after preparation of the report (G. W. L. Nicholson, English Language Secretary, to writer, Ottawa, April 10, 1958).

<sup>14</sup>There are at least twenty-five other practising scholars in the United States who, while not teaching Canadian history, have made noteworthy contributions to Canadian historiography.

<sup>15</sup>See Blair Fraser, "Backstage at Rochester," *Maclean's Magazine*, Oct. 13, 1956, 8, 115-16.

Norman Penlington and Alec R. Gilpin of the Department of Humanities also participates in the Canadian studies programme, and in 1957 and again in 1958 the university held a series of Canadian-American Seminars which included Canadian historians, writers, journalists, and archivists.

The University of Maine has offered a survey course on Canadian history since 1927, first under Wheaton Lane of Yale and subsequently under Richard Wood, Rising Morrow, James Whitten, and since 1949 Professor Alice R. Stewart. Arthur Hauck, President of the university until 1958, was deeply interested in Canadian affairs. A number of conferences on education in Canadian-American relations have been held in Orono. The regular course is offered during the summer as well, and every third year a course on "Canada in the Modern World" is offered by the extension division of the university. The university co-operates with the University of New Brunswick on the work of the latter's Beaverbrook Scholars.

The University of Washington, which has been offering a single course in Canadian history under Professor Edith Dobie since 1932 (with a visiting professor for 1957-9), hopes to add a course on Canadian-American relations and perhaps a seminar in Canadian history in 1959-60. Plans are under way to expand the library's already creditable collection of Canadiana and to create the first extensive programme of Canadian studies in the West. The University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, has offered a survey of Canadian history and a course on the North Atlantic Triangle under G. S. Brown since 1948 and hopes to add a seminar soon. St. Lawrence University offers courses in Canadian history and government and has held two Canadian Affairs Workshops since 1950 under the direction of William R. Willoughby.<sup>16</sup> It will be remembered that this institution alternated with Queen's University as the site for the biennial conferences on Canadian-American Affairs from 1935 to 1941. At other times workshops and conferences also have been held at Dartmouth, Harvard, Williams College, Colgate University, and Wesleyan University.

Finally, at Harvard and Radcliffe, John Conway has taught a survey course since 1955, and a course in Canadian government and institutions parallels it. At Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, Professor Grace Lee Nute teaches two courses, one on Canadian history and one on Canadian-American relations, continuing the work begun in 1947 by Donald Warner, a Yale doctoral graduate.

A list of the other currently operating courses in Canadian history in the United States, with the date of inception, follows. Courses offered each year: Boston University, University of California at Los Angeles, Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, and University of Oregon (with the French period omitted), 1947; North Dakota Agricultural College (where the course also is offered at night school), revived in 1937; Goucher College was noted above. Courses offered on alternate years: South Dakota State College in Brookings, 1958; Trinity College, Hartford, 1951; Brigham Young University (history and government), 1949; Niagara University, 1948; Walla Walla College, Whitman, Washington, and Wayne State University, Detroit, 1947; Tufts University and Western Reserve University, 1942; Dartmouth College, 1940; Texas Technological College, 1939; Skidmore College, 1937; University of Colorado, 1934; University of Vermont (with stress on French Canada), 1932. Stanford University was noted above. Courses offered on demand:

<sup>16</sup>Willoughby, "St. Lawrence's Canadian Affairs Workshop," *Social Education*, XV (Jan., 1951), 26-8; Louis H. Pink and Rutherford E. Delmage, eds., *Candle in the Wilderness: A Centennial History of the St. Lawrence University, 1856-1956* (New York, 1957), 255-64. See also John Bartlet Brebner, "History and Today: Forces of Change," in Hugh H. Saunderson, ed. *Education and the New Age* (Toronto, 1947), 30.

University of Alaska, and University of Utah, 1947; St. Louis University, revived in 1947; Fletcher School of Diplomacy, 1942. Every three years: Florida State University, Tallahassee, and Northern Center of the University of Kentucky, Covington, date omitted; University of Kentucky, 1949. Two years out of three: University of Southern California, 1947.<sup>17</sup>

### III

At least three other aspects of academic interest in Canadian history must be included in any survey from which meaningful conclusions may be drawn. These are the extent of library collections of materials relating to Canada, the sale of textbooks on Canadian history, and the number of graduate students engaged in productive research in Canadian history or Canadian-American relations.

There are a number of excellent collections of Canadiana in the United States, most of which are part of a university library. Omitted from this survey, but worthy of notice, are the large collections in the Library of Congress, the Boston and New York Public Libraries, the somewhat smaller collections in the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore and the Detroit Public Library, and the specialized collection at L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, all of which are readily available to scholars.

Professor Trotter noted that in 1927 the two outstanding university collections of Canadian materials in the United States were at Harvard and Columbia. The second rank, he felt, consisted of the University of Wisconsin, the University of Minnesota, Stanford University, and the University of California, in that order. In the third rank, with rapidly growing collections, were the University of Chicago, Yale University, Ohio State University, and the state universities of West Virginia, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and North Dakota. Today all of these institutions have representative collections but their respective order has changed and a number of other schools must be added.

Undoubtedly the finest Canadiana collection in a university south of Canada remains that at Harvard's Widener and Houghton Libraries, which are rich in manuscript, rare book, and secondary materials. The second most extensive library, especially in terms of standard accounts, is that at Wisconsin. Third in extent is Yale's collection, rich in published documents and serials and with substantial holdings on Western Canada in its Coe Collection. Fourth in strength

<sup>17</sup>No attempt to describe the large range of courses on the British Empire and Commonwealth which give time to Canada can be attempted here. The survey revealed eighty-nine courses which devoted at least two weeks to Canada, and doubtless many others were overlooked. Nearly every liberal arts college in the United States with an enrolment of a thousand or over offers a one-semester course on the Commonwealth. At some, such as Bryn Mawr College, Marietta College, and the University of Texas, Canada is given special emphasis within the framework of such a course, while others, such as the University of California at Riverside, offer work in "North American Economic History" with considerable Canadian material included. At still others, in particular the University of Pennsylvania and Smith College, Canada receives considerable attention in other ways. At the latter institution the History of the Americas, with one-third of a year devoted to Canada, has been offered since 1935, while the French Department offers a unique course on French Canada every year. Occasional seminars are devoted to Canadian affairs. Finally, the Commonwealth Studies Program at Duke University offers considerable work in Canadian history, although no specific courses, and has a faculty which includes six members who have carried out research in the Dominion. Visiting lecturers, a very good library, and an extensive graduate programme, produce at Duke more genuine interest in Canada than may be evinced at several of the schools which offer a specific course.

is the collection at Columbia, soon to have substantial additions made as a memorial to Professor Brebner. Three other exceptionally fine collections are those at Michigan and Minnesota, and the eight thousand volumes available to the Canadian Studies Program at the University of Rochester. These seven collections must be described as "excellent."

The adequacy of a library is directly proportional to the needs of the institution concerned. Therefore, it is difficult to judge, where specific citations of volume numbers were not given by the writer's informants, how substantial a collection may be. That which subjectively is described as "very good" for a school of a thousand enrolment, or "poor" for a school of ten thousand enrolment, cannot readily be fitted into any scale. In addition, the respective stress to give to the total number of volumes on Canada and the relative scarcity of such volumes would depend, at least in part, upon some correlation with the number of graduate students at the institution and the proximity of complementary collections. However, from the reports, and from the writer's personal examination in several instances, he would venture the following generalizations.

Following the seven front-ranking institutions are a group of ten which, listed alphabetically, are of the second rank: the University of California in Berkeley, the University of California at Los Angeles, The University of Chicago, Dartmouth College, Duke University, the University of Maine, Stanford University, the University of Washington, Wayne State University, and Western Reserve University. These may be described as "very good." In the third rank, which may be described as "good," are the John Carter Brown and Hay libraries at Brown, Bryn Mawr College, the University of Colorado, Cornell University, the University of Illinois, The Johns Hopkins University, Los Angeles State College, Macalester College, Michigan State University, Ohio State University, the University of Pennsylvania, Saint Louis University, Smith College, the University of Southern California, Syracuse University, Trinity College, and the University of Vermont. Finally, there are representative collections at a number of institutions (including nearly all of those at which Canadian history is or was taught), and the following: the University of California at Riverside, Detroit University, Lehigh University, Louisiana State University, Marietta College (especially traveller's accounts), the University of Missouri, New York University, Northwestern University, Oregon State College, the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Rhode Island, Rice Institute, the University of Texas, Tulane University, Wesleyan University, and the University of Wyoming. No doubt there are other substantial collections of which the writer is unaware.

A question was included in the questionnaire on textbooks used in Canadian history courses. It was learned that no less than six different texts were used. As W. R. Graham predicted in 1948, Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History* (New York, 1947), has become the "standard text,"<sup>18</sup> being used in fourteen institutions. A. L. Burt, *A Short History of Canada for Americans* (rev. ed., Minneapolis, 1944), is used at six schools, as is A. R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (New York, 1946). In use at five schools was J. M. S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Cambridge, 1953), and in use at three was Donald G. Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada* (Boston, 1944) and Carl Wittke, *A History of Canada* (rev. ed., New York, 1941), now out of print. For courses in Canadian-American relations John B. Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle* (New Haven, 1945), was used at four schools, Hugh L. Keenleyside and Gerald S. Brown, *Canada and*

<sup>18</sup>Review article, "Recent Canadian Histories," *Saskatchewan History*, I (winter, 1948), 16.

*the United States* (rev. ed., New York, 1952), was used at three, and Edgar McInnis, *The Unguarded Frontier: A History of American-Canadian Relations* (Garden City, 1942), was used at two. In addition, three schools require the reading of R. MacGregor Dawson, *Democratic Government in Canada* (Minneapolis, 1949), and Mason Wade, *The French-Canadian Outlook: A Brief Account of the Unknown Americans* (New York, 1947), while two require a reading of the Durham Report, and Donald G. Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain* (Boston, 1955). Nine other books are required reading in at least one institution. Sixteen of the courses require reading in addition to the text, ranging from a second book to a syllabus of seven books and a lengthy list of recommended readings. One school uses no text at all, relying solely upon lectures.<sup>19</sup>

Not only is there no agreement upon which of the six general texts should be used, but a general complaint that none of them was adequate for the post-1896 period was expressed. However, remuneration for the many months of work required to write a text is, in the United States at least, so slight as to discourage future attempts at textbook writing. The writer contacted the publishers of certain staple books to ascertain sales, and received the following figures:<sup>20</sup>

Oscar K. Skelton, *The Canadian Dominion* (New Haven, 1919), 36,000 copies sold.

A. L. Burt, *A Short History of Canada for Americans* (Minneapolis, 1942), 9,800 copies.

Anne M. Peck, *The Pageant of Canadian History* (New York, 1943), 12,000 copies.

H. McD. Clokie, *Canadian Government and Politics* (New York, 1944; rev. ed., 1950), 5,000 copies.

John B. Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle* (New Haven, 1945), 3,500 copies.

A. R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (New York, 1946), 1,800 copies.

George P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Canadian External Relations* (Toronto, 1950), 114 copies.

— *A Short History of Canada* (Oxford, 1950), 115 copies.

George W. Brown, ed., *Canada*, (United Nations Series; Berkeley, 1950), 7,000 copies.<sup>21</sup>

Hugh L. Keenleyside and Gerald S. Brown, *Canada and the United States* (rev. ed. only, New York, 1952), 1,500 copies.

Bruce Hutchison, *The Struggle for the Border* (Toronto, 1955), 1,500 copies.

*Canada in World Affairs* (Toronto, 1941-57): vol. I, 1935-9, 26 copies; vol.

II, 1939-41, 17 copies; vol. III, 1941-4, 94 copies; vol. IV, 1944-6, 91 copies;

vol. V, not yet published; vol. VI, 1949-50, 70 copies; and vol. VII, 1951-3,

124 copies.

As one publisher noted, "books on Canada . . . are not easy to sell in this country. Indifference to our Northern neighbors is giving way slowly, but it is still hard to get people interested in things Canadian."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup>These figures are based upon the questionnaire, not upon information received from the respective publishing houses, and are subject to correction.

<sup>20</sup>Figures are for American sales and represent totals from the first edition and subsequent editions unless otherwise indicated. The publishers of the works most obviously missing from this list were contacted but declined to supply sales figures.

<sup>21</sup>It is worth noting here that more copies of the Canadian volume in the United Nations Series have been sold than the volume on any other nation, and this despite the fact that it was the tenth volume in the series to be published.

<sup>22</sup>Personal communication to writer, April 11, 1958.

A final method of judging interest in Canadian history at the academic level in the United States is to survey the work being done in the graduate schools. In 1927 Professor Trotter found that three schools were far in advance of all others in this respect: Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago. This, in turn, was a change from the situation which prevailed at the turn of the century, when the order would have read Harvard, Yale, and The Johns Hopkins. The first and second doctoral dissertations done in the United States on Canadian affairs were completed at The Johns Hopkins in 1891, the third dissertation was written at Harvard, the fourth and fifth at Yale, and the sixth at Chicago.

Behind the front rank of 1927, Professor Trotter noted, were Wisconsin, Minnesota, Stanford, California, Clark, Yale, West Virginia, Ohio State, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, The Johns Hopkins, and Princeton. In that year the *Canadian Historical Review* began to print an annual list of dissertations and theses undertaken on subjects relating to Canada and from these lists the trend at the graduate level may be traced. It must be remembered, however, that the growth of figures may represent better coverage as the listing became known as much as it represents an actual net increase in research.

In 1934 Professor Ware noted the number of master's theses at American institutions listed in the *Review* had increased from one to twenty-seven, with Columbia, California, and Stanford leading at this level. She also noted that the number of Canadians writing theses at American universities increased from fifty-one to eighty-six. During the 1930's, partly because of the depression and partly because of the rise of excellent graduate schools in Canada, the flow of Canadian scholars to the United States decreased from one-third of all Canadians seeking master's degrees in history and related subjects, to one-sixteenth. The United States remained the centre of work at the doctoral level until the 1940's, with sixty-one of eighty-six Canadian candidates in 1932 taking their final degrees in the United States. During this time Harvard replaced Columbia with a yearly average of twelve theses and dissertations on matters Canadian, followed by Columbia, California, Chicago, Michigan, Iowa, and nineteen other institutions. Thereafter, with the continuing rise of the graduate schools at the University of Toronto and McGill University, more Canadians remained at home, so that post-war figures more truly represent American interest in Canada rather than Canadians taking higher degrees in the United States.

In 1957<sup>23</sup> fifty-five doctoral dissertations on Canadian subjects were being written at twenty-three American institutions. Columbia with nine, Harvard with seven, Yale with five, and Chicago, Duke, and Minnesota with four each, were the centres of research at the doctoral level (in the same year twenty-two doctoral dissertations on Canadian history were being written at Toronto and eight at McGill). The other American institutions were Rochester with three, Clark, Ohio State, and Wisconsin with two each, and Brown, California, Cornell, The Fletcher

<sup>23</sup>The basic source was "Graduate Theses in Canadian History and Related Subjects," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Sept., 1957), 257-64. There were some omissions from this list, however, and the writer has modified the figures from other sources: his own questionnaire; American Historical Association, *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* (Washington, 1955); William C. Seyler, comp., "Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science in American Universities," *American Political Science Review*, L (Sept., 1956), 807-844; Walter C. Eells, "American Doctoral Dissertations on Education in Canada," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XXV (January, 1956), 249-58; and U.S. Department of State, Office of Intelligence Research, External Research Staff, *Research on the British Commonwealth*, List no. 14 (Washington, May, 1952, and revised List no. 14.1, April,



School of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Illinois, Iowa, The Johns Hopkins, South Carolina, Southern California, Washington, and Western Reserve with one each. At nine of these twenty-three schools undergraduate courses in Canadian history were being taught, and seven of the remaining fourteen had once offered such courses.

During the same year thirty master's theses were being written on Canadian subjects at fourteen American institutions. Wisconsin, with twelve, had the bulk of such students, while the University of California at Los Angeles, Clark, Columbia, New York University, and Vermont had two each. One thesis in Canadian history was being written at Boston College, Indiana, Michigan State, Minnesota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rochester, and Texas Technological. At seven of these fourteen schools undergraduate courses in Canadian history were being taught, and six of the remaining seven had once offered such courses. (During the same year sixteen master's theses on Canadian history were being written at Queen's University, twelve at Toronto, seven at the University of Saskatchewan, and from one to four at ten other Canadian institutions, with a total of sixty.)

Looking back upon the lists of schools compiled by Professors Trotter and Ware, and upon the current courses being offered, one cannot but be impressed by the high mortality rate of courses in Canadian history. By 1936 twelve of the twenty-two institutions offering Canadian history in 1927 had dropped their courses; during these years eleven other schools began and dropped courses. Today only twelve of the twenty-eight institutions listed for 1936 continue to offer Canadian history, although again there has been a net increase for 1957-8.

Many factors may lie behind this mortality rate. Often the premature introduction of such a course does harm to the general status of Canadian history at a given institution, for budget-minded administrators have no wish to expend money on courses which prove to be unpopular or unsuccessful. Often a substantial outlay of money to stock the library shelves is involved, and today there are several institutions throughout the United States with respectable holdings in secondary materials on Canada with few students and fewer faculty to use such books. Clearly this mortality rate would indicate that a course in Canadian history should not be offered until an institution is demonstrably ready for it.

The present writer has made no exhaustive inquiry into the reasons for the failure of such courses, although he has prepared a report on the feasibility of the introduction of a course in Canadian history at an American university, with negative conclusions. An investigation into the causes of mortality would seem to be well worth making. Several obvious reasons, such as the inadequacy of library facilities, the lack of a qualified instructor, and inaccuracies in those surveys which were based on course catalogues, leading to an exaggerated mortality figure, may be mentioned. Two other points, as revealed by the present

1953). Professor Eells lists 111 dissertations written since 1908, several of which are in the history of education. The last-named guide lists ninety-one doctoral dissertations, seventy-two master's theses, and seventeen faculty research projects on Canadian affairs. This includes several items not listed in the *Canadian Historical Review* lists for 1952 and 1953, showing that the *Review's* lists are not exhaustive, and indicates that at one time dissertations and theses were being written at the following schools in addition to those discussed in the present report: University of Connecticut, Cornell University, Detroit University, Florida State University, Fordham University, Georgetown University, Iowa State College, University of Maryland, University of Missouri, New School for Social Research, New York University, Northwestern University, Oregon State College, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh, Rutgers University, Smith College, and Texas Christian University.

survey, are important. Often courses on Canadian history are given because of the personal desire of the instructor, without any real administrative support, or conversely, because the teacher happens to have been born in Canada and short-sighted administrators feel that the accident of birth should not be wasted, forcing a course upon a reluctant instructor. Unless there is an active desire on the part of both administration and instructor for such a course, it has little chance of success. In twelve of the institutions surveyed the administration strongly wants such a course and would continue it beyond the tenure of the present teacher, while the course might lapse in nineteen of the institutions, since it is the creation of the instructor involved. In only seven of the schools is there a close sense of agreement between both administration and instructor that such a course is desirable.

A certain degree of limited "borderlands" sentiment is present in some of the courses examined. In state universities in those states which border on Canada it often is felt, perhaps by administration and instructor alike, that a course on Canada should be offered simply because Canada is a neighbour. This Mallory-Everest view is an insecure basis for such a course. If the course is offered because there may be Canadians attending the university because of the proximity of Canada it will be self-defeating, for Canadians have no need to come to the United States to study their own history. If the course is offered because Canada borders upon the state in question, the same parochial excuse might be offered for a course on the history of any neighbouring state. If the course is offered because Canada's proximity makes colourful field trips to another country possible, the students soon will recognize the bankruptcy of this sideshow method of instruction and the course will suffer. The borderlands approach has less validity for Canada than for Mexico, which has a distinct language and national culture. Borderlands sentiment may be evident in the present survey, for of the fourteen states which border upon Canada or the Great Lakes (including Alaska and Wisconsin but excluding Indiana), the state institutions of ten states and private schools in three others offer courses in Canadian history (Idaho is the exception). On the other hand, in only three of nine states which form the southern fringe of the United States (California, Florida, and Texas) can instruction in Canadian history be obtained.

Courses offered in the state universities of those states which border on Canada do not necessarily reflect a limited borderlands approach, of course. Some of the centres quite rightly emphasize a valid regional viewpoint. The University of Washington, as the centre of Pacific Northwest studies, is interested in Canadian history because of the natural regional affinity of British Columbia. The courses at the universities of Maine and Vermont reflect a very natural interest in the maritime region and both, because of substantial French-Canadian population within their state boundaries, have a certain ethnic unity with Quebec as well. It may be said that the majority of courses given in border institutions are, or can be, made legitimate by a proper utilization of the concepts of regionalism, as well as by the more traditional Commonwealth and foreign affairs approaches. Finally, the study of Canadian history may be justified in terms of economic self-interest or simple because Canadian history is intrinsically interesting. Gone are the days when every schoolboy is taught to think that Canadian history is dull, because of an undue emphasis on political and constitutional matters. That courses in Canadian history in the United States continue to grow in number is encouraging, but that they suffer from a high mortality rate and sometimes from a limited approach, and that they are still so few in proportion to the total number of universities and colleges, must remain discouraging.

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## Reviews

### Mackenzie King: Two Views

*William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Political Biography, 1874-1932. I.* By R. MACGREGOR DAWSON. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 521. \$7.50.

IN HIS WILL the late Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King appointed a group of his friends in the civil service as his literary executors. In their charge he left his public and private papers including his celebrated diary covering fifty-seven years of his life. In return for an opportunity to examine Mr. King's private and public papers twenty-odd years before other scholars and what appears to be the sole right to study the diary, the late Professor Dawson undertook, having "a completely free hand," to write "not . . . a purely laudatory work, but a truthful account as written and interpreted by one in general sympathy with Mr. King and his work and career."

Professor Dawson's experiment in combining scholarship and apologetics is now before us. *William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Political Biography* deserves and requires the closest study because it is a book both bad and important. Its importance derives from the abundance of information it contains; its badness principally from the methods and technique of political science applied to a task which only an historian should have been asked to undertake.

Professor Dawson has presented many hitherto unknown facts about Mackenzie King both as a man and a politician which serve to confirm the conclusions of his predecessors working upon more limited sources. On the personal side Professor Dawson establishes on a firmer basis of fact than anyone has yet done the foundation of Mackenzie King's Oedipus complex. He has produced much amazing evidence of the high level to which Mackenzie King elevated the art of making friends and influencing people, particularly the rich and influential. Mackenzie King emerges from Professor Dawson's book as the most splendid example in Canadian history of the man-on-the-make.

On the political side Professor Dawson has given what should be the quietus to the myth that Mackenzie King was Laurier's chosen successor. He has acknowledged that Mackenzie King's activities under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation provoked such an adverse public reaction that the Foundation was obliged to abandon labour studies *à la* King. He confirms the already well-documented facts of Mackenzie King's rapid shifts during World War I from pacifism in 1914 to an advocacy of conscription in the spring of 1917 to anti-conscription during the election of 1917. In short Professor Dawson has brought very little comfort to Mr. Grant Dexter and Professor Burt.

But Professor Dawson has not brought much light or understanding to the general public either. Political bias has something to do with the confusion and obscurity which he imposes upon the narrative of Mackenzie King's career from the moment he entered the civil service until he was elected leader of the Liberal party, but the failure of Professor Dawson is due to something more radical than political partisanship. He was a political scientist, and a good one. In his lifetime he amply demonstrated his talent for analysing political institutions and constitutional issues. Unfortunately the aptitude and training of a political scientist, with established habits of studying institutions as they exist and abstract ideas lacking a time dimension, tend to unfit him for dealing with a narrative of events. It is a misfortune that the writing of the life of Mackenzie King, like that of Laurier, was given to a political scientist instead of to an historian trained to submit to the iron discipline of chronology and to the acceptance of the responsibility of looking at all evidence connected with an event regardless of its capacity to fit into a preconceived schema.

*William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Political Biography* abounds in instances of telescoped time and narrative derived from ideas in place of conclusions derived from narrative. Two examples, both critical to one's judgment of Mackenzie King, must suffice. Example 1, time telescoped: In September 1914, Mackenzie King wrote a letter to the Secretary of State of the United States advocating American neutrality in World War I and the prohibition of American loans to France. Professor Dawson alludes to this letter, but does not quote or even summarize it. He explains that its underlying ideas were the ideas entertained by Earl Grey and pressed upon Laurier by Mackenzie King and the Governor General. When? In 1909. Ideas may be timeless, but their connection with events is not. Something happened between 1909 and 1914, namely, the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany and the decision of the Canadian Government and Parliament to participate actively in the struggle. Mackenzie King's ideas and actions in September, 1914, can only be considered in the light of events in September, 1914, not in the light of events in 1909.

Example 2, narrative based on ideas: In 1910 the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway went on strike. According to Professor Dawson, Mackenzie King advocated conciliation in labour disputes. The object of conciliation is industrial peace. Mackenzie King acted as a conciliator in the Grand Trunk strike: the strike came to an end. Mackenzie King blamed the management for the outcome of the strike. Therefore, Mackenzie King must have helped the railway workers. Such are the bare bones of Professor Dawson's narrative. It is well he did not quote or otherwise attempt to reproduce Mackenzie King's own narrative of what he did during the strike. This narrative, reduced by Professor Dawson to an allusion in a footnote, explains why 265 men were black-listed, and why the Grand Trunk strike left a legacy of hatred which endured for a decade. It explains also why the American leaders of the unions dissociated themselves from the Canadian leaders. It explains why the Grand Trunk strike became a political issue and why a current of opinion against government interference in labour disputes began to grow in volume.

As a result of Professor Dawson's contractual undertaking to let Mackenzie King tell his own story, Mackenzie King emerges not as a man of intelligence who understood political and social situations and acted in them to advantage, but as a sentimentalist who succeeded because he loved People and hated Evil. Mackenzie King acts; a goblet of mush from his diary is served up as an explanation. More often than not the action, examined in its political and social context,

contradicts the catharsis of the diary. Elsewhere it has been amply established that in studying Mackenzie King one must distinguish between what he persuaded others he was doing; what he persuaded himself he was doing; and what he actually did. What he actually did is to be discovered in events and only partially in his diary.

Only when the march of history has convincingly demonstrated the understanding of Mackenzie King does Professor Dawson's narrative come to life and Mackenzie King stand forth as a man who knew what he was doing and did it. The best instance of this is the account of Mackenzie King's first Imperial Conference. Then, he demonstrated that he understood the hidden logic of a situation, better than his rivals. As a matter of fact he always did have a superior understanding, but Professor Dawson will not allow him this advantage. If one admits that Mackenzie King understood events in Colorado, for example, one comes to some very upsetting conclusions.

Professor Dawson's scale of values is hard to understand and evocative of little sympathy. He describes *The Secret of Heroism* as an example of Mackenzie King's "literary talent at its best." The style of this book is otiose and vulgar; its matter is unpleasant. The circumstances of its composition and the timing of its publication condemn it. On the other hand, Professor Dawson damns *Industry and Humanity* with faint praise. Admittedly this book is 50 per cent mush, but Mackenzie King generated mush as he wrote just as he generated carbon dioxide as he breathed. Amidst the sentimentality there reposes the most general and the most accurate description ever produced of the political and moral dilemmas of industrial society as they existed in Canada before World War II. To me *Industry and Humanity* is the sufficient proof that Mackenzie King was the most successful politician in Canadian history because he knew what he was doing.

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THERE MUST HAVE been many Canadians, and not least Canadian historians, who hoped that this first volume of the official King biography would help to clear up the enigma of his personality which makes it so hard to explain his public career. Surely there can be few democratic countries in which a man of such little apparent magnetism or intellectual stature, a man who attracted so little personal affection from the electorate in general or even from the bulk of his own followers, attained so prolonged a political ascendancy. Was he bigger than he seemed, or was it all done with mirrors? If there are any clues to the answers, some of them at least should be found in his early life, when the man was in the making and his future directions were being charted by the influences that moulded him.

Such expectations are certain to meet with a measure of disappointment. A number of clues are there, but all too often they are seen through a glass darkly instead of shining forth to illuminate their subject. What is more serious, they do not build up into a coherent pattern that reveals the inner core of King's personality. Most of the essential components are present, but something is still missing, and it is the missing elements that leave the picture fuzzy and incomplete and the enigma still unresolved.

This has one very curious result. The literary executors accepted the author's stipulation that the biography should not be "a purely laudatory work, but a

truthful account as written and interpreted by one who is in general sympathy with Mr. King and his work and career." It was a sound prescription, and Professor Dawson accurately described his own attitude toward his subject. Yet paradoxically his failure to get at the heart of the matter has distorted his presentation in a way that he certainly did not intend, and is bound to convey to many readers an impression of King that is unsympathetic and on balance largely unfavourable.

Look at the young Mackenzie King's outstanding characteristics as they emerge from Professor Dawson's account. He was first of all ambitious. That is the dominant theme throughout the whole of this volume. His ambitions in themselves were not unworthy, for they almost always fastened on some form of public service. Yet underneath there was also a strong element of self-glorification, a determination to cut a big figure, to play a leading role, that seems to alloy his genuine public spirit with a strong dilution of self-interest.

It follows that he was self-confident. Time and again his diary records his conviction that he is destined for a leading position in some aspect of national life, even when he remains undecided about which aspect it should be. Between whiles he tries to remind himself of the need to cultivate humility, but the warning never seems to take. He is sure of his own abilities and certain that they will lead him to the top.

And he was sanctimonious. Of all the aspects of his character revealed in this volume, this is the one that I find most repellent. It may be laudable to believe in God's personal guidance, but surely there were times when King's egotism carried it beyond the bounds of decency. He even convinced himself that he heard "a silent voice which he has given me no rest, which says: Go to Chicago, go to Chicago . . . you will be drawn closer to the living God." Surely no guardian angel ever issued a more implausible travel directive.

Paradoxically enough, his very self-confidence helped to lead him into a fairly prolonged period of indecision. Because he was sure of his gifts, he was uncertain how he could best apply them. He was for a long time attracted by the idea of the church, though it is not evident that he really considered this seriously. He showed more real interest in an academic career, and for several years this competed with the attraction of politics. Indeed, it might not have taken more than an accident to sway his decision either way. It is not easy to put a finger on the point where he committed himself to a political career. Perhaps the crucial step, though even then not necessarily a definitive one, was when he accepted the editorship of the *Labour Gazette*; and if Harvard at that time had been more pressing in offering him an appointment, his decision might well have gone that way. As it was, he more or less sidled into a public career, with a whole series of hesitations before he was finally committed.

One thing that comes out, at least by implication, is the developing pattern that led to the point where the alternatives were fairly clearly posed. As a student at the university, King began to engage in good works. Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution* made a profound impression on him, but his initial flirtation with economics gave way to an orientation toward political science with a sociological slant. Yet for all his inherent impulses to help the unfortunate, he was clearly one of those humanitarians who didn't really like humanity. In Chicago he quickly abandoned his work at Hull House; in London he very soon lost his initial interest in settlement work. He could study and investigate, he could write and recommend, but it was as a policy-maker rather than an administrator that



he was best fitted to contribute to the improvement of social conditions, and even here his impulses were carefully subordinated to his pragmatic political instincts.

And then there was his family. It is a rather shadowy group, for all the author's assurances that it played a major part in King's formative life. Moreover, it would be easy to conclude that its influence was not altogether healthy. His mother was vain and ambitious; his father was aspiring and incompetent; his brothers and sisters seem to have united with their parents in their vocal expectations that Willie would raise the family's social status and improve the family's unstable finances, without yielding to self-indulgent temptations such as marriage with a social nobody.

This is where his grandfather comes in. On balance he seems to have been less a political inspiration to be followed than a stigma to be expunged. Both elements were present, but the stronger of the two was to vindicate the memory of William Lyon Mackenzie in the person of his grandson. As King became more definitely involved in political life, his grandfather became more and more symbolic of his goal. Once that goal was reached, indeed, even when the possibility of becoming Prime Minister was merely foreshadowed by his choice as Liberal leader, he seems to assume that grandfather's shade has been satisfied. Any further concern is less for the application of Mackenzie's ideas than for additional symbols of posthumous triumph, as when he describes his appointment to the Privy Council as "the vindication of a great purpose & aim in the life of Grandfather and of his name in history."

One cannot help wondering how a stranger to the story of Mackenzie King, introduced to him for the first time through this book, would view its subject. It seems unlikely that he would wait with breathless suspense for the remaining volumes to find out how the hero fares. King does not emerge as a character to capture one's interest; and while it is evident that he must have real talents of some sort or other, it is never made clear exactly what they are.

This, it seems to me, is the essential criticism of Professor Dawson's handling of his theme. He gives us many valuable and significant facts about King's early career. He tells us that King was a big man on the campus in his student days, that he won the friendship and patronage of distinguished intellectuals then and later, that he had the choice of an impressive variety of careers while still a young man. But he never really demonstrates what were the talents that account for these achievements; he never isolates and defines the basic qualities that made King one of the formative figures in Canada's national development.

Yet those qualities must have been there. There was more to King's rise than his pushing temperament and his talent for meeting the right people, both of which are amply brought out. A young man who could attract the friendship of Taussig and Bryce, or become the protégé of a realistic politico of the stamp of Sir William Mulock, most unquestionably have been a quite exceptional person. When King was hardly more than thirty years of age, he was being seriously mentioned as a possible candidate for leadership of the Ontario Liberal party and the presidency of the University of Toronto and was offered a full professorship at Harvard. At forty-five he turned down posts with the Rockefeller Foundation at \$30,000 and the Carnegie Corporation at \$25,000 to become the national Liberal leader. It was no nonentity who emerged from obscurity at the 1919 convention, but a man whose abilities had already opened up for him a lucrative and influential future. The explanation of how he reached that eminence is the missing ingredient in Professor Dawson's biography.

This volume ends with the Imperial Conference of 1923, where King's firm and successful presentation of the Canadian position was a major achievement of decisive import for the future development of the Commonwealth. With King's accession as Prime Minister and his entry on the task of directing Canada's political evolution, the narrative begins to gain pace and interest. Up to that point Professor Dawson's style is dutiful and generally pedestrian, with only a few of those flashes of wit and perception of which he was capable. The second volume, though completed by other hands, can be expected to show a distinct advance in interests as to content, and one may hope as to style as well.

EDGAR MCINNIS

The Canadian Institute of International Affairs

## 1940

R. A. SPENCER

*The March of Conquest: The German Victories in Western Europe, 1940.* By TELFORD TAYLOR. New York: Simon and Schuster [Toronto: The Musson Book Company]. 1958. Pp. xvi, 460, illus. \$8.50.

*Operation Sea Lion: German Plans for the Invasion of England 1939-1942.* By RONALD WHEATLEY. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1958. Pp. xiv, 201, maps. \$6.00.

*Invasion 1940: An Account of the German Preparations and the British Counter-Measures.* By PETER FLEMING. London: Rupert Hart-Davis [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Limited]. 1957. Pp. 323, illus. \$5.00.

"I'VE REALLY DONE IT! And how remarkably easy it has all been! Now I'm a real conqueror." So Hitler exulted on June 17, 1940, when word of Pétain's request for an armistice reached the *Wolfsschlucht*. It had indeed been a remarkable and, in a sense, an easy feat. Only seventy days earlier Western Europe had stood fearful, expectant, but still free. Then Denmark and Norway had been overwhelmed in a daring sea-land-air offensive. The guns at Narvik were not yet silent when the Nazi war machine rolled westward, snuffing out Holland in five days, crushing the Belgians, driving the British into or over the sea, bringing France to her knees. In a little over two months, and with the bulk of the campaigning season still before him, Hitler had made himself master of Western Europe from the Pyrenees to the North Cape. It was an achievement for which there was no precedent in recent European history.

The story of this march of conquest has now been told in an extraordinarily competent fashion by Telford Taylor, the author of *Sword and Swastika*. It is a detailed, carefully documented, yet admirably clear, and immensely readable piece of work. As wartime intelligence officer with the U.S. Army, and as chief counsel for the prosecution at Nuremberg in 1946, Taylor had ample opportunity to become familiar with the German side of the story. And it is a remarkable feature of his book—remarkable even for a book dealing with German conquest—that it is based so largely on the rich harvest of German documentary material garnered in the closing days of the war. He has of course made use of the flood of memoirs, biographies, and specialized studies which the presses have produced

in such abundance since 1940; and he has profited from such valuable items as the U.K. official histories. But his principal source has been the captured German documents, the files of the German high command, and the Nuremberg records. Like others writing in this field he has made excellent use of the informative diary kept by Franz Halder, the Chief of Staff at OKH, and he has also made use of that remarkable souvenir prepared for Hitler, *Der Feldzug in Frankreich*, which contains maps showing the daily dispositions of the German divisions in the west from May 10 to June 25. These records provide the substance of the extensive appendices, rank lists, orders of battle and so on, as well as the wealth of biographical detail, so that names do not merely flit in and out of the story but come to represent real persons.

It is the reliance on the German documentary sources which enables Taylor to prick the legends propagated by a Winston Churchill or a Desmond Young, to deal so effectively with conflicts of testimony in the published versions of the main participants, and, above all, to convey throughout the work an air of impressive solidity. Only occasionally do new or startling facts emerge. But the value of the book lies rather in the wealth of detail, carefully integrated into a smoothly flowing narrative, and subjected to an extraordinarily balanced and skilful analysis. No one writing or lecturing on the events of the spring and summer of 1940 will be able to neglect it.

The essential theme of Taylor's book is the contrast between the planlessness of the German conquest and its technical brilliance. "From Warsaw to Compiègne," he writes, "German grand strategy was as dull as German tactics were brilliant." The *Wehrmacht* could and did win brilliant victories. It did not know how to exploit them. After Poland, German leadership faltered. Hitler's proposal for an autumn assault in the west brought him into bitter conflict with his generals, which only ended when bad weather and the compromising of the intentions forced its postponement. *Weseruebung*, the next venture, was a striking instance of technical and tactical skill. Yet, though the conquest of Norway and Denmark brought Hitler increased prestige at home and heightened respect abroad, strategically it was a failure. It was launched after Anglo-French plans for intervention in Finland had been abandoned, and it resulted in naval losses so severe as to limit further the range of strategic alternatives when the Battle of France came to an end. Hitler may not, as Chamberlain said, have missed the bus; but it seems clear that he was on the wrong route.

Equally brilliant technically was the planning and execution of the assault on France and the Low Countries. Yet here again the Germans did not think in strategic terms, as had Schlieffen before 1914. Their plan was neither a modified version of Schlieffen's *Entscheidungsschlacht*, by which the war would be ended in a single campaign, nor yet exclusively the product of Manstein's genius, as Guderian, Halder, Liddell Hart, and others have suggested. In essence it was simplicity itself. Holland was to be occupied to obtain important air and sea bases and to please Goering. Farther south a blow at Liège was to draw the Allies across the frontier into Belgium, while a more powerful thrust was to carry the bulk of the armour through the Ardennes, across the Meuse, through to the Channel, and so destroy the forces cut off in Flanders. Beyond this the Germans had no plan.

On June 5, twenty-six days after the original assault had been launched, the German army completed a brilliant reorganization and regrouping and faced south along the Somme and the Aisne. The result was a foregone conclusion. Yet,

as Taylor aptly comments, the devotion of the entire resources of the *Wehrmacht* towards annihilating the remnants of the French army was like using a steam hammer to drive home the last coffin nail. The real enemy was England. On occasions Hitler, Raeder and some of the generals recognized this. Yet they never worked out an over-all strategic plan to ensure British defeat. On the contrary, the slender resources of the German navy were squandered on non-essential ventures such as Norway; the bulk of the British army was allowed to escape destruction at Dunkirk (the result, Taylor shows, of errors in judgement on the part of both Hitler and his commanders). Instead of inaugurating steps to deal with Britain when the extent of victory was foreseen, the *Wehrmacht* put all its power into a haymaker directed at the tottering French, and then lost valuable weeks with administration and victory parades.

The result of this abysmal strategic direction was that at the end of June, 1940, the Germans "staggered, victorious in battle, but planless" into a new phase of the war. Western Europe lay under their heel, but to the question "*Was nun?*" the Germans could give no coherent answer. The strategic possibilities were few. The *Wehrmacht*, as Taylor points out, was "an unbalanced and defective force in strategic terms." Its staying power was limited by its narrow economic base, for the Germans, already beginning to loot their new conquests, had made no real effort to mobilize their own economic resources. Significantly, by mid-1940 German aircraft production had been outstripped by Britain's. To bring the war to a speedy conclusion was thus essential. But Hitler floundered in indecision; and his generals and admirals, though they had served him well tactically, were too much under the pressure of Nazism, too circumscribed by old conceptions, too divided into bickering and jealous cliques to grasp the strategic possibilities which stood before them. It was their failure to cope with these riddles which, paradoxically enough, was to make of the flood tide of victory in the summer of 1940 the turning point of the war.

"What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over," Churchill told the House of Commons on June 17. "I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin." Hitler expected otherwise. He hoped, reasonably under the circumstances, that Britain would soon collapse. But, unreasonably, he came to rely on this hope rather than on intensified operations to force her to collapse. Originally, only air and naval warfare against the islands were contemplated. The possibility that invasion might be necessary was not considered at the top until Raeder broached the subject to Hitler on May 21, a day after Guderian's tanks reached Abbeville. Not until July 2 did Hitler order staff planning to begin, and it was only on July 16 that he announced his intention "to prepare, and if necessary to carry out, a landing operation" against England. As the wording suggests, this did not mean that the operation was "on"; it was a reluctant and provisional decision to prepare an operation which it was still hoped circumstances would make unnecessary.

And yet there can no longer be any doubt that the operation was meant seriously; no doubt either that, preparations were sufficiently far advanced by the army and navy for it to be launched by September 24. This is made abundantly clear in Ronald Wheatley's *Operation Sea Lion*, a tightly written and well organized account of the German invasion plans, based on "unrestricted access" to the captured German war records. It is carefully and coolly argued, and if it is rather less than exciting, this probably derives from the fact that it was originally prepared as a report to assist in preparing the U.K. official war

history. In his first four chapters Wheatley describes the evolution of the invasion plan from the time Raeder first ordered staff studies (lest he be caught napping by a sudden resolve of the Fuehrer's) down to the time it was put on ice on October 12, 1940, and finally wound up in March, 1942. In the remaining two chapters he discusses the extent of the preparations by the services and the SS, and the reasons for the rejection of the operation.

*Operation Sea Lion* was completed four years ago, and it might perhaps not yet have seen the light of day had it not been for a curious incident. A short time after its completion Peter Fleming, among whose claims to fame is the authorship of a weekly column in the *Spectator* under the pseudonym "Strix," came to the Admiralty seeking information for a book on 1940, and "by a bureaucratic oversight" Wheatley's draft was placed in his hands for a couple of hours.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not this incident (to which Fleming "confessed" a few days later) persuaded the embarrassed but irate officialdom to authorize publication is uncertain. But Fleming profited from his clandestine reading both because Wheatley's draft cleared up a number of obscurities and because he was able to use his newly acquired knowledge to pry further information from the reluctant authorities.

His book cuts a wider swath than Wheatley's, as he attempts to relate the German preparations to invade and the British preparations to repel. The result, which he modestly describes as an "interim report," is a fascinating account. Like Messrs. Taylor and Wheatley he too has learned a good deal from German documentary sources. But his learning is enlivened by the skilful pen of a practiced writer. Some of the best parts are those describing how the British "feverishly, but with a curious cheerfulness" improvised defences against the formidable war machine across the Channel which had just proved itself in three swift and conclusive campaigns. This "story book" quality remained to the end, as the defence of the island passed from carefree improvisation against the threat of mass paratroop landings, saboteurs, and spies, to the gradual emergence of a more realistic defensive posture as the Dunkirk forces were reorganized and re-equipped, and backed by the million-strong Home Guard, equipped with rifles instead of shotguns (pikes they never had), and as the air battles raged overhead. Like Wheatley, he shows that the Germans tried very hard to launch the invasion; unlike Wheatley, who stresses in addition the German naval weakness and the failure to damage the British economy and morale, Fleming explains the decision to cancel the invasion entirely by the failure to achieve the prerequisite of air superiority. And he paints a dramatic picture of the curious way in which a minor raid of revenge on Berlin caused the Germans to switch the weight of their air offensive from the battered sector stations to London, which could and did absorb the punishment which would probably have crippled the R.A.F. and so have opened a way for *Sea Lion*.

As this suggests, an element common to all three books is the narrow margin by which catastrophe was averted. Had German leadership in 1940 been more strategically sound, had the resources which had struck down western Europe been more effectively developed and employed, Britain's "finest hour" might have ended in disaster, and the world of the 1940's might have been very different.

<sup>1</sup>The incident is amusingly described in Peter Fleming, "Blood out of a Stone," *Spectator*, no. 6777 (May 16, 1958), 619.

## European

*Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization.* By JOHN U. NEF. The Wiles Lectures, Queen's University, Belfast, 1956. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1958. Pp. xvi, 164. \$4.00.

*War and Society in the Seventeenth Century.* By Sir GEORGE CLARK. The Wiles Lectures, Queen's University, Belfast, 1956. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1958. Pp. viii, 157. \$3.75.

THE PUBLICATIONS of the second and third sets of Wiles Lectures delivered at Queen's University, Belfast, in 1956 (Professor Nef's in the spring and Sir George Clark's the following autumn), confirm the promise of the first, Butterfield's *Man on his Past*, that this series will be of more than usual interest to historians. The Nef and Clark lectures are, perhaps by design, connected by more than just the common auspices under which they were offered. They are both concerned, as one would expect, with the seventeenth century, mostly in England, France and Holland. Both emphasize social values and attitudes. The relation of these to war, the focus of Sir George Clark's discussion, also bulks large in Professor Nef's. Finally, both these distinguished historians take the opportunity to reassess the historical methods and techniques by which they first achieved distinction.

Professor Nef's reassessment is a drastic rejection. His first celebrated book was based on a study of a great mass of documents relating to the British coal industry before 1640, and depended largely on an elaborate statistical analysis of the data he had collected. It was widely hailed as an outstanding contribution to economic history. Now one of our best known professors of economic history says, in effect, that the labours of the economic historian are vain; that all this quantification of knowledge in imitation of the physical sciences dehumanizes and falsifies experience; that the origins of our industrial civilization are to be found not in earlier economic changes but in "the human spirit" as expressed in philosophy, theology and art; and that to understand our past and master our future we must seek the truth "which modern insistence on specialization . . . virtually forbids us to seek . . . the truth . . . which aims to comprehend every facet of man's existence." It is by the pursuit of this kind of truth, following the clues offered by philosophy (in the seventeenth century meaning of the term), by the fine arts, mostly painting, and by poetic and devotional literature, that Professor Nef now proposes to discover the origins of our modern industrial civilization.

This *saut périlleux* from one standpoint and methodology to another quite different, from relying on statistical analysis to relying on intuitive empathy, makes an exhilarating, even if sometimes slightly alarming spectacle. Professor Nef finds the cultural foundations of industrial civilization to include a new taste for quantitative precision as exemplified by the Gregorian calendar, a taste first manifested, he thinks, about 1580, an improvement of manners, and increased elegance of living, a moderation of violence and a new revulsion from the horrors of war, and new spiritual attitudes (St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, and others). About all these matters Professor Nef has some fresh,



some charming, and some exciting things to say, though the reader is likely to wonder, after a while, whether in reading he has inadvertently lost the thread of the argument which connects *L'Astrée* and *Introduction à la vie dévote* with industrial civilization, and whether that term still means here what it usually has meant. His confidence that the author will not lead him astray is further shaken by some extraordinary lapses. "The chief instrument which enabled Brahe to go beyond the Arabs in accuracy was the telescope[!]. Both the telescope and the microscope were invented in Europe about 1580[!]" (p. 27), and "Rubens painted a great ceiling[!] in the Louvre[!] for the French queen-mother" (p. 119), to note only a few. The end of the *saut périlleux* seems to be a truth to which factual trivia are irrelevant. Whether this kind of truth can be serviceable to history, or can only demand to be served by it, remains debatable.

Sir George Clark still avoids aerial somersaults, or if he makes them, lands so adroitly and solidly that the leap does not seem perilous at all. His examination of European, largely French, attitudes towards war under the first three Bourbons yields no revolutionary generalizations or truths likely to save or remodel the world, but it is a firm and sensible survey, based on a wide and ready command of the sources and the facts. It clears away a lot of nonsense: the notion that war is a cyclical phenomenon, current in the seventeenth century and ever since, the more modern notions that it is a function of demography, or that it is always (or never), caused by economic competition, or that the asperity with which it is waged is likely to be much affected by literary denunciations of atrocities.

Besides clearing away false generalizations, Sir George establishes some valid ones. War in the seventeenth century, as before and afterwards, was a recognized institution, its recurrence generally expected. Wars were less the rational pursuit of the objects of foreign policy than they were partially random collisions, arising often from accidental frictions or personal ambitions, and usually resulting in arrangements unforeseen at their outbreak. Means of destruction were limited less by the moral pressure of opinion than by judgments as to their military efficacy (for example poison gas after World War I). Nevertheless, as the century progressed, wars became more clearly defined and more rationally organized, and therefore in some respects less savage and destructive.

All these statements, however, are limited generalizations about a historical past. When it comes to larger generalizations, to theories of war and peace which remove them altogether from the sphere of human choice, no one will be surprised to find Sir George gently sceptical. "Is it not a very striking fact that the historians who have contributed most to our knowledge of these matters, such as the historians of diplomacy," he says in his concluding pages, "have based their work on quite opposite assumptions? Instead of following economic trends, they have minutely dissected treaties and despatches . . . and tried to establish precisely what part each individual played in each transaction." The first book to bring G. N. Clark widespread recognition, one recalls, was a diplomatic study, *The Dutch Alliance (1688-1697)*. Its author has turned since to so many other fields, to social, literary and economic history, that most people do not think of him, and perhaps he does not now think of himself, as primarily a diplomatic historian. But he still has faith in the methods which gave him his early triumphs.

GARRETT MATTINGLY

Columbia University

*Origins of the Medieval World.* By WILLIAM CARROLL BARK. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 162. \$3.75.

PROFESSOR BARK has chosen a formidable subject: the transition from classical to medieval civilization in Western Europe has exercised some very great minds since Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. He has analysed the change from the decay of the later Empire to the progress of medieval society and has combatted the erroneous, and long discarded, view that there was nothing but stagnation and decay between Rome and Renaissance. He presents the barbarian invasions of the fifth century as constituting a cataclysmic change, though he does not quite revive the old notion of the barbarians themselves as bringing new vigour and heroic virtues to a decadent world.

The problems which Professor Bark discusses are not so much those which he himself discerns in the complicated process of transition as those which have been made prominent by recent writers. Hence, they have mainly been chosen for him, and not by him. Nevertheless, by his preferences he gives a clear priority to economics and technology over politics, religion, and intellectual change. He does not, for example, give the same searching analysis to Dawson and Cochrane, though he knows all about them, as he does to Pirenne and Marc Bloch. A writer like Sir Samuel Dill, one of whose volumes has the engaging title, in this context, of *Roman Society in Merovingian Gaul*, Professor Bark leaves almost entirely aside.

Thus, Professor Bark gives a vigorous and stimulating, but not a comprehensive or altogether balanced, discussion of the origins of the medieval world. He leaves out too much of the late Roman and the early Christian. He is less happy in his constructive than in his destructive comments. He has good things to say about the impossibility of reducing the inner character of the movement from Roman to medieval to the measure of any single formula, but he does not reveal any philosophy of change of his own which commands great respect. Indeed, on occasions, he seems almost to regard change itself as an absolute virtue and to conceive the whole transition from Roman to medieval as simply a mystic substitution of the better for the worse.

All this is not intended to suggest that this is not a good and stimulating book. On the contrary, the book is so stimulating that it makes one wish it had been more comprehensive and complete. Perhaps Professor Bark would have been wiser and gone further if he had spent less time on other people's views and more on his own. It would be good to hear him discuss at length the traditional Western European theme of liberty and its relation to political order, or the place of the individual in society and the relationship between this great theme and what has been called the history of the mind. It is perhaps quite superfluous to remind a scholar of Professor Bark's qualities of Maitland's saying that what men have done and said, above all what they have thought, that is history; or to resurrect Lord Acton's now trite dictum on the consequence of absolute power. But if Professor Bark is to devote himself (as we may well hope he will) to the immense problem of progress and decline in Western European civilization, he may as well travel with the older masters and in the strong current of Western European tradition, as well as in the company of the newer masters whom he so evidently and properly admires.

B. WILKINSON

The University of Toronto

*Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089-1135.* By NORMAN F. CANTOR. Princeton: Princeton University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. xiv, 349. 8 plates. \$6.90.

MR. CANTOR'S BOOK is, I think, defective in detail and mistaken in conclusion, but it seems to me a remarkably important and valuable work. It applies unusual industry and learning, an "exhaustive" search of the sources, to an intrinsically interesting and significant problem and period. It describes part of the collision in England of two growing governmental machines trying to implement two quite different interpretations of society and of life. It thoroughly explores the disputes over the liberties of the church which came to centre themselves around the problem of the investiture of prelates and which engaged the attentions of William II and Henry I, Urban II and Paschal II, and of Anselm, the great archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Cantor uncovers a mass of richly intricate detail in an area which has certainly been insufficiently studied, although perhaps not so insufficiently as Mr. Cantor implies.

The flaws in detail in Mr. Cantor's work are more noticeable to his reader because of his constant and rather peevish concern with the mistakes of his predecessors. In one case, that of an early predecessor, it is rather pleasing to find Mr. Cantor dating the historian Thorne less surely than Thorne, whom he corrects, dated Hugh of Fleury (p. 227, n. 65). Mr. Cantor is mistakenly cavalier in dismissing Professor Cheney's belief that the style *servus servorum Dei* was not unusual (p. 75, n. 155). He allows himself constant small extravagances like that of calling Herbert Losinga "a quite obscure bishop in a minor English see" (p. 38), or of illustrating Henry I's cosmopolitan outlook as a Norman king with his appointment of "a French Cluniac, Henry of Blois, as Bishop of Winchester" (p. 284), or, in a rather different and more serious direction, of assuming that there was a real priest-kingship in Anglo-Saxon England.

Mr. Cantor's excursion into iconography, illustrated by a series of pleasant plates, seems the most disastrous section of the book. It is perhaps donnish humor to speak of the Peter and Paul of the Bamberg Apocalypse as "crowning bishops who are not mitred and are not robed in their ecclesiastical vestments" (p. 142 and fig. 7). It is at least peculiar without explanation repeatedly to label an illuminated king as Edward II when the manuscript is corrected to call him Edward I and the illumination illustrates Edward I's coronation in 1274 (pp. xi, 142, n. 38a, and fig. 6). It is misleading, and misleading in the direction of making Mr. Cantor's point, in two cases to describe as "two mitred bishops" two prelates one of whom hopefully waves his cross to identify himself as an archbishop (p. 143 and figs. 6 and 8). Mr. Cantor moves through these difficulties assuming that they establish his point about Henry I's coronation order, and through the rest of the book they are a proof proved. It seems to me that in this book of extreme, if not always consistent, opinions the defects of Mr. Cantor's reasoning amount at times almost to falsification and that the illustrations do not always illustrate any more than the proofs always prove. There is a particularly clear example of the latter fault in Mr. Cantor's attempt to illustrate the profit to the royal treasury "for appointment to bishoprics and abbacies" with an instance of the bishop of Lincoln's paying the king to summon other bishops to the consecration of a new cathedral (p. 45).

Some of Mr. Cantor's finest work lies in his destruction of conventional assumptions like those about the authorship of the pro-regal anonymous tracts or about the intellectual responsibility for the pattern of the eventual compromise

between Anselm and Henry I. But, although Mr. Cantor in the first case deals briskly and destructively with Professor Williams's Norman Anonymous, his own reconstruction of Böhmer's York Anonymous theory is peculiar and unconvincing. In the second case, although Mr. Cantor will make blush, and deservedly, everyone who has ever assumed without reading Ivo of Chartres that Ivo arranged the English compromise (that allowed the king to retain his prelates' homage but not their investiture), he himself has not succeeded in proving, as he assumes that he has, that Ivo was not responsible. Mr. Cantor allows Ivo no flexibility.

Mr. Cantor is perhaps at his worst in dealing, or not dealing, with personality. All the material seems to be collected for a serious consideration of Herbert Losinga, a fascinating man, but none is made. Paschal II, fantastic and heroic as he was, is twice dismissed as a "dour old monk" (pp. 124, 158). There can seldom have occurred a more unlikely judgement of a "bad king" than Mr. Cantor's of William II: "As far as we can get to know Rufus personally, he seems not to have been a man of exceptionally bad character . . ." (p. 48). But the great central flaw in the book, one that gives it a curiously hollow air, is its treatment of Anselm, its central figure. In an historian who feels that the nineteenth-century biographies of Anselm "are, without exception, of no value" (p. 39, n. 133), one would not expect the sort of delicate sensitivity to and evocation of the qualities of Anselm's mind that still give distinction to Church's biography. The saint, moreover, seems in some way to offend Mr. Cantor. The historian cannot bring himself to consider his subject's greatness. If he could have allowed himself to pay more serious attention to Anselm's thought and character, some of his questions surely would have been answered differently (and asked differently), and the shape and tone of the book would have changed.

Mr. Cantor seems in fact to be waging war on Anselm, the papacy, and the religious view of life. Through a mass of embattled casuistry he drags the ill-defined twelfth-century Gregorians to eventual defeat on his last page. "By 1135," he concludes, "the die was cast, and Becket, the last Gregorian, was doomed to failure." This is a conclusion that, if it were true, Mr. Cantor's book could hardly establish.

In spite of an inflated introduction and a dubious conclusion both in some ways badly connected with the text, in spite of much unconvincing argument and a rather chess-playing view of character, this remains valuable, important, brave, pioneering work. Its scope, learning, and intensity establish its author as an important North American medievalist. In his promised work on Lanfranc, a man who would seem better adapted to his tastes and capabilities than Anselm, many of Mr. Cantor's difficulties with this first work will probably disappear.

ROBERT BRENTANO

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Berkeley

*The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642.* By MILLAR MACLURE. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1958. Pp. x, 261. \$5.50.

WE SOMETIMES FORGET how important sermons were in the life of the Englishman in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their very importance, and the difficulty of controlling them, doubtless explain in large part the suspicion which that very great sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, so persistently held of sermons,

those who wished to deliver them, and those who demanded so lustily to hear them. The sermon was the principal weapon of theological controversy, the most effective of the levers possessed by those who wished to move a careful government further towards Geneva, and certainly the most important of all the agencies which in sixteenth century England were bringing about a considerable measure of "adult education."

Of all the pulpits in England, the most important by far was that at Paul's Cross. Though the favoured preachers were formally invited to grace this great pulpit by the Bishop of London or his delegates, the fact is that the roster of preachers over a period of slightly more than a century with which this study is concerned displayed an amazing diversity of point of view on controversial, liturgical, and political issues. It is not too much to say that Paul's Cross was the principal forum of England. These sermons, which Professor MacLure has so skilfully and thoughtfully analyzed, were often tedious, always long, and frequently studied exercises, whether delivered by ambitious young ecclesiastics in search of a patron or by famous preachers wrestling with great issues. But they were also by the very circumstances of the place of their delivery, and the immense prestige of this pulpit just outside the great cathedral church of London, important sermons.

The author has treated this body of historical literature with care and has most competently discussed the content and the implications of this considerable collection of sermons. If anything, it can be held that he has on the whole underestimated both the importance of Paul's Cross in the great religious controversies of the century and the extraordinarily high quality of the sermons themselves. Not the least of the contributions of this interesting, lively, and significant study is the *Register* of the sermons preached at Paul's Cross, accompanied by most useful critical notes.

W. K. JORDAN

Harvard University  
and Radcliffe College

*English People in the Eighteenth Century.* By DOROTHY MARSHALL. London and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Company. 1956. Pp. xvi, 288, illus. \$6.00.

IT IS NOT AN idle question to ask, what is social history? Broadly speaking there are two schools of thought on the matter. The first has it that social history is what is left after politics have been removed. In practice this has led to some books which are annoyingly trivial and diffuse, but also to others which stir the imagination, such as Miss Scott Thomson's studies of life in a noble family or Mr. Ketton-Cremer's re-creations of Norfolk society in the eighteenth century. The second school of thought has it that social history deals with the changing shape of society, its structure, its component parts and their inter-connections. Since we are all sociologists now, this is probably a more fashionable and attractive view; it asks what we think are the important questions, although very often they are very difficult questions to answer satisfactorily.

Miss Marshall is a modest member of the latter school, modest inasmuch as she eschews the obscure jargon of some sociologists, plies no special theory of social change, and provides an unadorned account of the impact of the industrial and agricultural revolutions on the social structure of eighteenth century England which she hopes will be useful to sixth formers, undergraduates, and interested

readers generally. The result is that rare thing, a good textbook, decidedly not of the sort which kills outright a budding interest in history, or which relies exclusively on stale and outworn scholarship.

Miss Marshall has read and pondered the important major works, even the important articles. How pleasant it is to find the author of a textbook in English history who has read T. H. Marshall on Jethro Tull (an article written over a quarter of a century ago), let alone W. E. Tate and J. D. Chambers on the enclosure movement. (No doubt Mr. Alastair Parker's article on Coke of Norfolk appeared too late for Miss Marshall to omit repetition of the well worn myth that Coke increased his income tenfold after 1776.) How pleasant it is also to find an author of a textbook who confesses ignorance, who cautions the reader on the dangers of over generalisation, and greatest wonder of all writes a reasonably long book without once calling to her aid that marvellous phenomenon, undifferentiated and anonymous, the rising middle class.

DAVID SPRING

The Johns Hopkins University

*Cabinet Government and War 1890-1940.* By JOHN EHRLMAN. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1958. Pp. x, 138. \$3.25.

THIS IS, AS Mr. Ehrman remarks, a conciliar age. His purpose in the Lees Knowles Lectures is to trace the adaptation of cabinet government to the requirements of war. For war is the supreme test of political institutions. Dictatorships are inherently warlike engines of government and do not need to be adapted for military needs. A constitutional democracy, on the other hand, is organized to prevent irrevocable decisions, and hedges the process of command about with the countervailing forces of discussion, debate, and delay. Adaptation to war is therefore painful and imperfect, and it is remarkable that the democratic central executive machinery has shown such powers of adaptation to the total wars of the twentieth century.

The period which Mr. Ehrman considers is bounded at one end by the proposal of the Hartington Commission in 1889 which led ultimately to the Committee of Imperial Defence, and at the other by the Churchill War Cabinet of 1940. At the beginning military operations were on the periphery of government, and the Admiralty and the Horse Guards dealt in their own fashion with problems created for them by decisions made in Downing Street. At the close of the period a system of control had been devised for the integrated operation of a nation in arms.

At first the problem was to bring together the army and the navy under a single set of strategic objectives and unified strategic control. It is conceivable that there might have developed a strong professional central direction on the principle of the German General Staff. What above all else prevented this from happening was that the self-governing dominions could not be brought under a unified imperial control except on a basis of consultation and co-operation. So the necessary instrument of control became the committee, with its mixture of politicians and professionals, out of which grew the complex structures of both World Wars. It was a means of retaining the political control and responsibility for military policy, and emerged as a means of inter-governmental co-operation in the grand alliances. Canada's contribution to this process was in the crystallizing,



as far back as the Imperial Conference of 1907, the demand for independent consultative status by the self-governing colonies. Thus from the start the Committee of Imperial Defence was an advisory, rather than a policy-making organ. From that beginning, with many false starts, there finally emerged the powerful instrument of the War Cabinet with its standing and *ad hoc* committees endowed with powers of decision, as well as the responsibility for filtering out the big issues, and those only, for top level decision.

In his workmanlike survey of the growth of machinery Mr. Ehrman does not perhaps stress sufficiently the basic characteristic of the British type of War Cabinet—its pragmatic response to the personality of the Prime Minister. Thus the Lloyd George War Cabinet was very different from those of either Chamberlain or Churchill. So also in Canada the temperaments of Borden and King led both to avoid the appearance of ostentatious centralization of power at the top. Yet these were all bred of the same stock, and Mr. Ehrman's systematic examination of the roots of British war organization is a useful clarification of a subject which already has a vast and steadily growing literature.

J. R. MALLORY

McGill University

## North American

*The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869.* By JOHN S. GALBRAITH. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. x, 500. \$6.75.

SO MUCH HAS BEEN made of the chartered rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and so strongly did the Deed of Surrender focus attention on those rights, that it requires something of an effort to accept the conclusion that during the Company's greatest period the chartered rights were an unimportant anachronism. This, however, is what Professor Galbraith sets out to show, and he succeeds admirably. The period is, of course, that of the governorship of George Simpson, though Sir George died in 1860 and the book runs to 1869 (actually to 1870). The main theme of much of the book is that the Company relied on its commercial competence to drive rivals from the field, not upon its legal privileges. Since this theme involves numerous demonstrations that the British government was seldom in support of the Company, and almost never in complete support, it leads to analysis of the way in which the Company was constantly trying to enlist government support by standing forth as the champion of British interests, and so became an "imperial factor."

This is not a novel theme but Professor Galbraith (though he does indeed base his thesis upon the argument that the Company was first and foremost a mercantile concern) brings to its analysis a full and convincing knowledge of the political and personal factors involved. So his dictum that "the only significant function performed by the British Government was that of destructive critic" while "the only energy observable in British North America west of the Rocky Mountains was that of the Hudson's Bay Company", for example between 1850 and 1858 (p.307), is something more, and much more important, than a repetition in detail of the thesis advanced by Innis.

The first and most significant point about this study is that it reaches a general conclusion but that it is in no way generalized in its treatment. Primarily it is

based on a study of the Company's own papers, on the Colonial Office papers in the Public Record Office, and on the Peel and Gladstone Papers in the British Museum. Other collections play their part, and published works and articles make an impressive and obviously well-used bibliography. But the strength of the work comes from the fact that the Company's documents and the government records have both been thoroughly studied, and that they combine to build up a coherent and satisfying narrative. With this as its basis the book carries conviction at every stage. Detailed, well documented, and comprehensive, it must be accepted as authoritative and definitive.

The earlier chapters on "Frontier Policies" examine in detail (but with no great novelty) the Company's policies for overcoming opposition in trade:—opposition from Canada, from the United States to the south, and from the Russians and the Americans in the west. Varied according to circumstances, the policy rested upon the same realistic assumption that the only way to defeat a rival trader was to prevent him from making profits, and it led to the same conclusion. "The fundamental assets of the Company were its superior knowledge of the fur trade, its reputation for goods of high quality, and its ability and willingness to sustain losses to discourage competitors" (p. 77). Chartered rights were indeed a card to be played when opportune; but in general it was by the exploitation of its commercial *expertise* that the Company triumphed and protected the fur trade of remote Rupert's Land by effective competition against free traders in the frontier districts.

At this stage of the study the "imperial factor" receives some attention when Professor Galbraith is dealing with the southern frontier, but it is when he comes to deal with the Pacific coast that the theme begins to take on colour. The possessory rights in Oregon which were acknowledged in the Oregon Boundary Treaty were almost inevitably an issue with which the Company concerned itself more actively than the British government, and the narrative of Simpson's ventures into the corruption of highly-placed American politicians makes interesting reading. But on the other aspects of the Pacific coast the argument gathers such weight that one is left with a strong feeling that the Company's policy throughout was knowledgeable, sane and realistic; what require study and explanation are the ignorance and the hyper-critical vacillation of the Colonial Office.

This is a feeling greatly strengthened by the last two chapters of the book, on the sale of the Company to the International Finance Society in 1863, and on the Deed of Surrender of 1869–70. Here again the dogmatic ineptitude of the Colonial Office, the hostility of Canadian politicians, and their desire to achieve a new western frontier without paying for it, stand in contrast to the realism of both the old and the new boards of directors of the Company. For while the Colonial Office could not put before Parliament a bill to pay for the Company's lands, and could not institute proceedings to challenge rights of which it represented the undoubted donor (the Crown), Canada insisted on such a challenge but would not initiate it, and boggled at paying for land which would bring embarrassments to Canada even if it promised to bring strength to a future confederation. Against such difficulties the Company had an easy part to play, and it consistently alleged its willingness to hand over any land suitable for settlement provided effective government would be imposed, and provided reasonable compensation would be paid.

It would be too much to say that the Company emerges fully justified from these chapters, for there will always be those for whom the very basis of the

charter is unacceptable. But given that the directors were representatives of shareholders who had a property in the chartered rights, they emerge as sane and helpful men, trying to make the best use of those rights, quite unable to accept expropriation, but willing to forward the ambitions of Canada and to further the plans of the Colonial Office if reasonable terms could be arranged. These are good chapters, again not entirely novel, but clear, well told and authoritative; chapters for the judicious historian who can appreciate that even the liberal politician may well allow his heart to over-rule not only his head but his conscience, while a board of fur-trade monopolists may prove sensible and even public-spirited men.

There is nothing peculiar to the Hudson's Bay Company in this story, and a broad criticism of this scholarly and convincing work would be that it treats the Company too much in isolation. The half-century with which it is concerned was, after all, a half-century of the "minimum commitment" in imperial policy, a half-century of muddled thought and of impotent and half-hearted action. The only singular thing about the Hudson's Bay Company in this period when chartered companies were often used as stalking-horses, to divert attention while politicians made up their minds, was that it was a fur-trading company. This raised two almost irreconcilable issues. On the one hand statesmen convinced themselves that the fur trade was the one branch of commerce in which monopoly was justifiable in order to save the Indians from the dangers of competition; on the other hand they also convinced themselves that the fur trade was, in itself, incompatible with agricultural settlement. The problem, therefore, was to decide at what point settlement became impracticable and the fur trade became the vital industry of the frozen north. At that point the Company's claims would cease to carry weight, and much of the complex discussion and chicanery with which Professor Galbraith is concerned develops from this simple division. For the Company persistently claimed that it was acting to preserve the rights of British settlers when its immediate interests were those of the fur trade, while government equally maintained that only the Company's interests were at stake while much larger issues were clearly raised.

But if this is the chief peculiarity of the Hudson's Bay Company as an "imperial factor," it is nevertheless a sufficiently formative peculiarity to warrant detailed treatment, and the problem is so close to the heart of the development of a federal state stretching from coast to coast that this is a study which makes a major contribution to Canadian history.

E. E. RICH

St. Catharine's College  
Cambridge

*Lord Chatham and America.* By A. O. SHERRARD. London: The Bodley Head [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Limited]. 1958. Pp. 395. \$6.50.

THIS VOLUME COMPLETES the work begun with *Lord Chatham: A War Minister in the Making* (1951), and *Lord Chatham: Pitt and the Seven Years' War* (1953). *Lord Chatham and America* is concerned with the period from Pitt's resignation in 1761 to his death in 1778. This three volume biography is a protracted vindication of Chatham's career in all its aspects. The author's enthusiasm, as he is the first to admit, endows his work with somewhat of a polemical flavour, although the labour of research is well attested to in the length and detail of the whole.

The title of the present volume is rather misleading, for Mr. Sherrard pays no more attention than absolutely necessary to American problems; his interest lies elsewhere. As he states in the Introduction, he is in profound disagreement with Namier and those of the persuasion that Pitt was the principal cause of chaos in English politics in the 1760's. Pitt's latest biographer prays that his book "may help to redress the balance."

Having delivered this *caveat lector*, Mr. Sherrard guides Pitt dextrously through the recurrent governmental crises of the decade and argues his hero out of responsibility for any of them. Pitt's pose of "standing single" was a rueful virtue, fashioned of necessity, which apparently played no part in the difficulties of government. The author concedes that Pitt's "appetite for outward magnificence was a flaw in the true brilliance of his genius," but other defects are surprisingly few. There is little hint of the arrogance and egotism that were the despair of contemporary politicians; when Mr. Sherrard unguardedly mentions Pitt's "difficult temperament" it comes as a distinct shock. Pitt's attitude on any topic is accepted as automatically correct, and valid criticisms are ignored. As it stands, this work is too obviously an apologia. A critical approach would have produced an assessment more worthy of a man who is great enough to withstand analytical study. Mr. Sherrard has the material at his command, but he is overwhelmed by his duties as counsel for the defence.

LESLIE F. S. UPTON

St. John's College  
Winnipeg

*Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776.* By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited]. 1958. Pp. x, 318, xvi. \$6.75.

MR. SCHLESINGER is in many respects the master craftsman of social history revealed through the newspaper. In this work, he returns to the field of his first great book, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*. It is clear that his hand has lost none of its mastery and that he has in this work a theme worthy of his effort.

This study is an investigation through the newspaper of the role of the newspaper in the revolutionary movement from 1764 to 1776. Unfortunately there is not much information that can be brought to bear on this problem aside from what can be extracted from the journals themselves. Mr. Schlesinger has assiduously sought out these added scraps of information but they are not sufficient to provide a connected story about the editors or the behind-the-scenes developments except for a few isolated episodes.

What emerges is a remarkable picture of the essential role played by the American newspapers in moving the colonies through the decade of controversy with the mother country and toward the acceptance of independence. The panoramic view which Mr. Schlesinger continuously maintains of the newspaper output from towns along the entire seaboard requires a strenuous effort to follow but it is exciting. Differing views were voiced throughout this period but it is clear that the conservative, and at the end loyalist, viewpoint was increasingly restricted to a small minority of papers and often to papers in garrison towns. No doubt can remain that the newspapers did more than reflect opinion. They created

it. They were one of the foremost agencies in molding thought during this critical time.

The papers themselves grew significantly in stature throughout the controversy. They became responsible journals. There was frequently a conflict between their dedication to the cause and their conviction that newspapers should be open to all shades of opinion. Those editors who attempted to maintain the latter position, inevitably failed as the conflict progressed. Still, Mr. Schlesinger feels that, next to the accomplishment of independence, the greatest service rendered by the papers was their espousal of a free press. The famous Zenger trial had no legal significance but it was seldom out of a harassed editor's mind. One of the fruits of the Revolution was certainly the construction of bulwarks to protect the freedom of the press, even though the edifice was not completed quickly.

The shortcomings of this book are the shortcomings of the approach to social history through the newspaper. Even the talents of a master cannot reduce to meaning and purpose the kaleidoscopic pattern of the press when often there was none. Even where meaning can be extracted, the story must often be told in hops, skips, and gaps. Accepting such deficiencies, historians will recognize this book as a contribution of continuing value.

BROOKE HINDLE

New York University

*The Mind of Alexander Hamilton.* Edited by SAUL K. PADOVER. New York: Harper & Brothers [Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. viii, 461. \$8.00.

LIKE DESIGNERS of postage stamps, historians are finding all manner of anniversaries as pretext for their labours. Whether this fashion is a boon or a plague is not altogether clear. The recent Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial (1957) only confirms our uncertainty. Of the four major anniversary volumes, the three that appeared during 1957 differ widely in character, and each offers something useful to students of Alexander Hamilton. Professor Saul Padover was several months late for the party with his *The Mind of Alexander Hamilton*, which is forgivable, but his performance suggests that he probably should have arrived even later or not at all.

*The Mind of Alexander Hamilton* contains a brief biographical sketch of Hamilton and a selection from his major writings that is apparently designed to illustrate Hamilton's best thought on the principal enterprises in which he was involved. Several of the economic papers are printed in full, and his remarks on the Constitution are only slightly abridged. The *Federalist* was left out, the editor says, because of its ready availability.

Students at all levels will thank the editor for his lucid and stimulating interpretative essay on Hamilton. Unhappily, the book has few other virtues. There is a fair quantity of Hamilton in it, but in Padover's hands Hamilton is neither well proportioned nor reliably edited. The economic reports constitute half of the book, leaving only six pages for foreign relations and none for his feud with the Jeffersonians over the meaning of the Constitution. The table of contents fails to locate several of the major items in the book. The editor seems to believe that Hamilton's writings are intelligible without context, which will satisfy only a few political theorists and no historians. The editor identifies the source of his text only twice, and one of these is erroneous: he announces (p. 110), that he is

reproducing Madison's version of Hamilton's June 18 speech in the Philadelphia Convention and then proceeds to give us Yates's version. For Hamilton's shorter statements in the Convention the editor regularly prints two versions of the same remarks without informing the reader that he is doing so and apparently without realizing it himself. Other sections of the book required less careful editing and are less garbled. Yet Professor Padover's venture in commemoration has largely miscarried, and the merit in this volume, apart from the introduction, is principally attributable to Hamilton. Most readers who wish a volume of Hamilton's writing will prefer Richard B. Morris's better edited, and more comprehensive *Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation*.

WALLACE D. FARNHAM

The University of Alberta

*Lord Aberdeen and the Americas*. By WILBUR DEVEREUX JONES. University of Georgia Monographs, No. 3. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 101. \$2.00.

THIS SHORT STUDY of Lord Aberdeen and the Americas is the latest contribution to an examination of British foreign policy in the western hemisphere. In some one hundred pages Professor Jones has attempted to describe and assess the importance and effectiveness of the contribution which Aberdeen made to the betterment of Anglo-American relations. To do this he has divided his book into chapters which deal with the disputes over Maine and Oregon, the questions arising out of events in Texas and Mexico and the problems growing out of developments in South America.

It is Jones's view that Aberdeen pursued a consistent policy that had clear and definable goals. The corner stone of this policy was, he argues, the establishment of an *entente cordiale* with France and to aid him in this project he strove to improve Anglo-American relations. For he felt that if he did the latter, he could more easily obtain the former. This goes far to explain, he continues, the concessions which Aberdeen was prepared to make to the United States with regard to Maine and Oregon. It even justifies these concessions, he concludes, for by being both calm and generous in his dealings with America he bequeathed to his successors a warmth of understanding and a tradition of friendship which encouraged the United States and Great Britain to settle peaceably the vexatious disputes which arose in a later period.

This is a both interesting and disappointing book. It is interesting because Jones has examined the Aberdeen Correspondence (but curiously enough neither the Foreign Office nor the State Department despatches) and found material that is new and pertinent; and disappointing because he whets our appetite but does not wholly satisfy it. The sections on Maine and Oregon are, for example, both too sketchy and too one-sided. It is true that Jones is concerned only with Aberdeen's personal actions and views, but one cannot properly assess the importance of his role unless the background and complexity of these issues are examined. By failing to do the latter Jones weakens his case for Aberdeen and reduces the value of his study. Yet despite this failing this is a useful piece of work which is generally balanced and judicious in its judgments, and careful in its analysis.

PATRICK C. T. WHITE

The University of Toronto



*The Long Haul West: The Great Canal Era, 1817-1850.* By MADELINE SADLER WAGGONER. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons [Toronto: Longmans, Green & Company]. 1958. Pp. 320. \$6.75.

OVER THE YEARS there has been a vast outpouring of books celebrating the colourful and picturesque aspects of the "American past," and particularly those parts of it relating to the westward movement. The canal craze of the quarter century following the War of 1812 is very good material for such writing, and Mrs. Waggoner is following a well-worn towpath in recalling its highlights. About half of her space is devoted to retelling the story of the Erie, with the latter part of the book devoted to other ventures, especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. She makes good use of contemporary travel accounts and of local history materials in order to make vivid to the reader what it was really like to build and to journey along these crude but remarkable waterways. She is right to emphasize the enterprise and ingenuity which lay behind them, although her strongly nationalist tone prevents her from giving due weight to the English technical and financial contribution, or from making even a bare mention of Canadian activity in the same period. On the whole, her account is eminently readable, with the qualification that she belongs to that class of writers who seek some of their effects by using "Methody" for "Methodists," by referring cosily to Sam Sewall and Bob Fulton, and by putting in a "by holy dang" where it will do the most good.

Mrs. Waggoner is only incidentally concerned with the broad economic and political context of the canal-building era, and has not attempted to draw upon the large body of scholarly writing on this subject. Such analysis is not her purpose, and she is not to be criticized for the omission. But in an attempt to give her book focus, she has emphasized a theme which will seem far-fetched to many readers. It is that the canals were built just in time to carry people into the present middle west as a means of building up a population base for that further push to the far west by which the Manifest Destiny of the United States was later to be realized, thus foiling the sinister designs of Great Britain on this Pacific empire. In pressing this over-simple idea, the author has missed a result which was of much greater significance. The Erie and the Ohio-Indiana canals made it possible for the northern sections of the Old Northwest to be rapidly peopled by New Englanders and Europeans, thus halting the further influx of southerners who had long been moving northwards from the Ohio Valley. This population movement by way of the canals and the Great Lakes laid the basis for the alliance between the Northwest and the Northeast which was later tightened by the railroads, which decided the outcome of the sectional conflict of the 1860's, and so determined much of the subsequent course of American history.

G. M. CRAIG

The University of Toronto

*The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest.* By ALEC R. GILPIN. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1958. Pp. viii, 286, illus. \$6.95.

THE TERM "the Old Northwest," as used in the United States, denotes the territory to the north and west of the Ohio River. This book, then, deals with the War of 1812 as fought in the upper Great Lakes basin. No other book, so far as this reviewer is aware, attempts to cover precisely the same field. On the other hand,

there is not a very great deal in Mr. Gilpin's volume that is "new." It is mainly, though not exclusively, based on printed sources; this was indeed inevitable, for most of the important source material is certainly in print. The author has ransacked it fairly thoroughly, though perhaps a little less carefully on the Canadian than on the American side. He has missed a number of items by the late General Cruikshank, including his *Documentary History of the Campaigns on the Niagara Frontier*, which in spite of its title has some relevance. He did a limited amount of work in the Public Archives of Canada. Here his references are inadequate; of the dozen scattered items listed in his bibliography, the majority are from the old C series, but only three are so designated. An irritating feature of the bibliography is the fact that it does not list periodical articles individually, but merely names the periodical and the volume (for example, "*American Historical Review*, Vol. XVII").

The book's military commentary is not very enlightening; it could have been improved by using Admiral Mahan's excellent book on the war, to which no reference is made. On the whole Mr. Gilpin is sympathetic to the unfortunate General Hull, who, he has no difficulty in showing, was the victim both of incapacity in Washington and insubordination among his own officers. He argues, on the basis of the "prize pay list" published by Cruikshank and Wood, that Brock's force at Detroit was "probably nearly twice as large" as Hull's. This seems to the reviewer an exaggeration. Whatever else the prize list represents, it is pretty clearly not a statement of the actual striking force that crossed the Detroit, as indeed Mr. Gilpin concedes. But British commanders had a tendency to be off-hand about militia strengths, and the four hundred militia of Brock's report may well be an understatement. About the regular strengths, which all concerned undoubtedly considered the vital point, there is no serious disagreement.

The book is a useful summary of the aspects of the subject with which it deals. It is attractively produced but not particularly well written. The one map is rather inadequate.

C. P. STACEY

Army Headquarters  
Ottawa

## Noted

*An Encyclopaedia of Parliament.* By NORMAN WILDING and PHILIP LAUNDY. With a Foreword by VISCOUNT MALVERN. London: Cassell and Company Ltd. [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Limited]. 1958. Pp. x, 705. \$12.75.

THIS PARLIAMENTARY ENCYCLOPAEDIA is bound to be a most useful reference work for students, teachers, politicians, and civil servants. It is a book that should be readily accessible on every public and private library shelf. Arranged alphabetically, the entries cover procedure, ceremonial, history, institutions, law, and so forth. It is essentially based on United Kingdom practices and history, but there are occasional references to other sections of the Commonwealth. Naturally, given the scope of the volume and the pressure of space, the specialist will quibble from time to time, but on the whole the contents seem sound. The history of Parliament is given in a number of separate entries and this, perhaps, is the weakest part of the work.

*Fool's Gold: A Narrative of Prospecting and Trapping in Northern Canada.* By ERIC MUNSTERHJELM. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1957. Pp. 250. \$3.50.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE author's experiences between 1935 and 1939 as a trapper and prospector in the Lake Athabasca and Great Slave Lake districts during the gold-mining booms at Goldfields and Yellowknife when the lure of gold infected the trapping fraternity, exposing men to new temptations, ruining the trapping grounds, and introducing the values and the restraints of modern civilization to this sector of north-western Canada. For the author the new order brought opportunities for steady wages at the mining camps and as a company prospector, and the elusive, unfulfilled hope of making a "strike" and winning his fortune. A "primitive" by conviction, he portrays the mining age as profaning the natural environment and corrupting the natural men, and the prose becomes most eloquent while describing the landscapes, seasons, and wildlife of unsullied nature. *Fool's Gold* offers an unusual sidelight to the history of Canada in the period between the wars—the northward advance of the mining frontier and its impact upon the economic, social, and moral fibre of the white trapping community.

*Le Conseil national de la résistance: les institutions de la clandestinité.* By RENÉ HOSTACHE. *Esprit de la Résistance*, HENRI MICHEL *et al.*, Directeurs. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. vi, 498. 1 600 fr.

GAULLIST IN CHARACTER, moderate but patriotic in manner, and slightly regretful in tone, this is a large and immensely detailed analysis of the French Resistance from its origins to the establishment of the Fourth Republic. If it was not done *en équipe* (and there is no indication of this), it is certainly a staggering piece of work. The diversity of the Resistance movement, the lateness of the Communist rallying, the total wrongness of the Vichy position, the general unfriendliness of the United States—these are some of the themes underlined. The book takes its place in the now substantial and valuable series "*Esprit de la Résistance*" celebrating the heroic aspect of the pause between the Republics.

*Historical Studies: I: Papers Read Before the Second Irish Conference of Historians.* Edited by T. DESMOND WILLIAMS. London: Bowes & Bowes [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Limited]. 1958. Pp. viii, 99. \$1.80.

THREE PAPERS IN particular are of general interest. Michael Oakshott's "The activity of being an historian" is an extremely interesting discussion of the nature and value of the study of history. In his view the historian loves his subject "as a mistress of whom he never tires, and whom he never expects to talk sense." T. Desmond Williams offers a provocative analysis in his "Historiography of World War II" and H. G. Wormald provides a useful summary of the literature in "The Historiography of the English Reformation." Two papers on the sources for medieval Anglo-Irish history, one on "Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion," one on "Mercantilism and Ireland, 1620-1640," and an essay on "Gustavus Adolphus and the Art of War" complete the collection.

*Empire in Brazil.* By C. H. HARING. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. x, 182. \$5.25.

A BRIEF, LUCID, ANALYTICAL ACCOUNT of the Brazilian experiment with monarchy between 1822 and 1889. Professor Haring's volume is an admirable introduction to the modern period of Brazilian history. Addressed to the general public, the

author admits that "the book as a whole is frankly lifted out of the contributions by Brazilian historians," but it is more obviously the work of one of the leading English-speaking historians of South America.

*The Seizure of Political Power in a Century of Revolution.* By FELIX GROSS. New York: Philosophical Library. 1958. Pp. xxx, 398.

AN ATTEMPT TO ANALYZE in sociological terms the strategy of revolutions, that is, "the actions and techniques which have led to the seizure of power from above or below." It is based chiefly upon the Russian experience which from the Decembrists to Beria provided "a great though tragic laboratory."

*Strategy and Compromise.* By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company. 1958. Pp. viii, 120. \$3.50.

IN THIS LITTLE BOOK the United States Navy's official historian has outlined his views on what America contributed to the strategy of the Second World War. His thesis is that the United States' contributions consisted of the agreement to defeat Germany first, an insistence on the launching of an invasion of the continent of Europe by the shortest route (that is across the English Channel) at the earliest possible moment, and the complete responsibility for and control of, the strategy by which Japan was ultimately defeated. It is his belief that the strategy of victory was a compromise between conflicting concepts and that, in the European war, in particular, this compromise between British and American ideas was "sensible."

*Canada's Economic Development 1867-1953.* By O. J. FIRESTONE. Preface by SIMON KUZNETS. Income and Wealth Series VII. London: Bowes & Bowes [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Limited]. 1958. Pp. xxvi, 384. \$9.00.

DR. FIRESTONE'S work is in the basic field of statistical analysis, an essential preliminary to any sound economic history of Canada. He has examined Canada's economic development using new estimates of gross national product and gross national expenditure and capital investment. His analysis deals with population trends, the industrial structure, the distribution between consumption and investment, the contribution of governments, and the significance of foreign trade. It is not an easy book to read, for most historians at least.

*Roman and Native in North Britain.* By I. A. RICHMOND. Edinburgh and Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 1958. Pp. x, 174, illus. 18s.

THIS IS REALLY a "progress report" on a wide range of studies of archaeological and literary sources over the past twenty years. The attempt to reconstruct the story of Roman influence in Scotland, with occasional references to *Britantia*, calls for an ability to combine historical references of the most exiguous and casual nature with the results of air photography, field archaeology, numismatics, and place-name study. To eke out the evidence, resource is had to comparative developments in such places as Dacia and Thessalonica. The result of such studies, as British television viewers have discovered, can be absorbing, and if the archaeologist-historian is brash enough, startling. Few readers are likely to concede that anything but the slightest of Roman influence has been established. As far as economy, language, religion, and polity were concerned the Romans might well have never passed beyond the Solway.

*Heinrich von Treitschke.* By ANDREAS DORPALEN. New Haven: Yale University Press [Toronto: Burns & MacEachern]. 1957. Pp. x, 345, frontispiece, map. \$6.00.

IN THIS FIRST attempt at a full length biography of Treitschke (published just sixty-one years after his death) Professor Dorpalen has sketched with conspicuous success the life of the figure who, in Friedrich Meinecke's words, "influenced as hardly anyone else the attitude and ideas of the leading strata of German society before the November [1918] revolution." From Dorpalen's pen emerges clearly the twofold nature of Treitschke's place in European history: the "Herald of the Reich," who saw as his lifework the task of giving the empire its credo and who in his *Politics* provided the "ideological underpinning of Bismarck's *realpolitik*"; and the historian whose *German History* was a classic as a patriotic sermon and a work of art, so far considered exempt from the ordinary standards of historical scholarship that a colleague could sum up his impact with the words, "Treitschke is . . . [not] . . . a historian, but always—which means much and is enough—Treitschke."

*Documents of German History.* Edited by LOUIS L. SNYDER. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1958. Pp. xxvi, 619, maps. \$10.00.

THE DIFFICULTY OF crossing the language barrier makes doubly welcome this collection which includes many documents not previously available in translation, and collects in convenient form many that were. They range in time from Paternus on Teutoburg Forest to the Four-Power Declaration of July, 1957; but the balance is towards the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the emphasis is increasingly on Germany's international position.

*A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna.* By RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ. New York: Harper & Brothers [Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. xvi, 736. \$8.25.

A VERY USEFUL attempt to analyse and explain the diplomatic relations of the major European states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ostensibly as background to the understanding of American foreign policy. The result is a readable survey on a theme on which there is no single, modern alternative. The nineteenth century (1815–1914) is divided conveniently at 1870 into an oddly entitled "Search for Equilibrium" and a more reasonable "Era of Stability." What follows is defined as "Twentieth Century Transition." There is an extensive, largely uncritical bibliography, but there is also some bibliographical discussion in the text.

*What Roosevelt Thought: The Social and Political Ideas of Franklin D. Roosevelt.* By THOMAS H. GREER. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1958. Pp. xvi, 244. \$5.50.

THE AUTHOR HAS provided a convenient handbook of Franklin Roosevelt's views on society, government, politics, the press, foreign policy, and other topics.

Published and unpublished materials had been diligently searched to provide balanced and sensible summaries, although the plan of the work prevents it from being a penetrating analysis of F.D.R.'s intellectual development. While lacking the broad range of interests of the Republican Roosevelt, F.D.R. is shown to have been much more than the gay reformer of some accounts.

*The American Earthquake: A Documentary of the Twenties and Thirties.*  
By EDMUND WILSON. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc. [Toronto: Doubleday Publishers]. 1958. Pp. 576. \$6.75.

THIS BOOK CONTAINS an extensive selection of Edmund Wilson's non-literary pieces, written in the 1920's and 1930's. The earthquake in question is, of course, the Great Depression, and it occupies the centre of the book. Going before are some journalistic forays into "The Follies" of the Coolidge era, and following are some glimpses of the New Deal dawn. In a postscript he concludes that some of his views of the period had been clouded by the Marxist faith to which he adhered at the time. Although not all of the pieces might have been reprinted if they had not been written by Edmund Wilson, the majority of them are vivid reminders of an age, historically recent, yet in some ways as remote now as the Middle Ages. In particular, there would be few better places to recapture the mood of the depression years.

*Trotsky's Diary in Exile: 1935.* By LEON TROTSKY. Translated by ELENA ZARUDNAYA. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. xvi, 218. \$5.95.

THIS IS A publication of Trotsky's diary kept in France and Norway from February to September 1935, and three short testamentary statements written in Mexico just before his death. Thirty pages of notes and a short introduction add to the importance of the untranslated originals which are part of the Trotsky Archive at the Harvard University Library.

*The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge.* By WILLIAM T. COSTELLO. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. x, 221. \$5.95.

AN INTERESTING and lively study by an American Jesuit, based on impressive research in England of undergraduate and graduate courses in the Cambridge at which Milton was a student. Less specialized than the title suggests, being really a description of the medieval university curriculum, and therefore a useful contribution to the history of ideas and of higher education in Europe.



# Recent Publications Relating to Canada

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE  
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BY PAULA ARMSTRONG

NOTICE in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review.

The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also *Canadiana*, a monthly list of Canadian publications prepared by the National Library, Ottawa; *External Affairs*, published monthly by the Department of External Affairs; *Journal of the Parliaments of the Commonwealth*, issued quarterly by the General Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," published in the July issue.

Sections of the bibliography omitted from this issue for reasons of space will be included in later issues.

## I. CANADA'S COMMONWEALTH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BARBER, JOSEPH. *Good Fences Make Good Neighbours: Why the United States Provokes Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited. 1958. Pp. 280. \$5.00. A provocative and stimulating inquiry written primarily for Americans. The volume is of less value today than it will be as a period piece in a later day.

LAING, LIONEL H. The Transplantation of the British Parliament (*Parliamentary Affairs*, XI (4), autumn, 1958, 405-23). An examination of the structure of Parliament in the various Commonwealth countries.

TAYLOR, ALASTAIR M. A Peacetime "Arsenal of Democracy": National Altruism and Enlightened Self-Interest (*Queen's Quarterly*, XLV (3), autumn, 1958, 378-88). The author suggests a peacetime equivalent to the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan as Canada's contribution to the Western alliance.

VINER, JACOB. *Canada and Its Giant Neighbour*. Alan B. Plaunt Memorial Lectures, Carleton University, 1958. Ottawa: Carleton University. 1958. Pp. 60. \$.75.

## II. HISTORY OF CANADA

### (1) General History

BLISHEN, BERNARD R. The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XXIV (4), Nov., 1958, 519-25). The author discusses the value of an occupational scale as an index of social class in Canada.

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- GARIGUE, PHILIPPE. *Les Sciences sociales dans le monde contemporain*. Montréal: Faculté de Sciences Sociales, Economiques et Politiques, Université de Montréal. 1958. Pp. 23.
- GORDON, H. S., and READ, L. M. The Political Economics of the Bank of Canada (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XXIV (4), Nov., 1958, 465-82).
- LEFEBVRE, FERNAND. Introduction à la paléographie canadienne (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, XXVIII (4), oct.-déc. 1958, 480-519).
- LOWER, ARTHUR R. M. *Canadians in the Making*. Toronto: Longmans, Green & Company. 1958. Pp. xxviii, 475. \$7.50. To be reviewed later.
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- MASTERS, D. C. *A Short History of Canada*. Anvil Series, no. 36. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. [Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Company (Canada) Limited]. 1958. Pp. 191. \$1.35. To be reviewed later.
- MORGAN, EDMUND S. Le Miroir de l'Indien (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, XIII (2), oct. 1958, 130-6; XIII (3), nov. 1958, 243-50). An appraisal of various aspects of Indian life.

### (2) Discovery and Exploration

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- BURNS, FLORA HAMILTON. The Exploits of Lieut. Mayne, R.N. (*Beaver*, outfit 289, autumn, 1958, 12-17). A discussion of Mayne's accounts of his trips along the Pacific coast and into the British Columbia interior in the 1850's. Illustrated.
- GLOVER, RICHARD, ed. *A Journey to the Northern Ocean by Samuel Hearne*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1958. Pp. lxxiv, 301. \$6.50. To be reviewed later.
- LITTLE, C. H. Voyages of Discovery: British Columbia (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LVI (4), April, 1958, 148-52). Illustrated.
- NEATBY, LESLIE H. *In Quest of the North West Passage*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xii, 194. \$3.75.
- THOMAS, LEWIS H. The Hind and Dawson Expeditions, 1857-58 (*Beaver*, outfit 289, winter, 1958, 39-45). The author discusses the achievements of these two explorers of the Northwest. Illustrated.
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- De Carillon et Louisbourg (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, XIII (2), oct. 1958, 146-9). Deux testament canadiens, un de Carillon (1758) et l'autre de Louisbourg (1740).
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- GROULX, LIONEL. *Notre grande aventure: L'Empire français en Amérique du Nord (1535-1760)*. Collection Fleur de Lys. Montréal: Fides. 1958. Pp. 302. \$4.50.
- HAMILTON, RAPHAEL N. Location of the Mission of St. Ignace from 1670 to 1673 (*Michigan History*, XLII (3), Sept., 1958, 260-6). The author traces the founding of the original mission. Map.
- HUDEN, JOHN C., ed. An English Captive's Map (*Vermont History*, XXVI (4), Oct., 1958, 301-5). The contemporary comments of an "English prisoner returned from Quebec" about 1757 on the Lake Champlain area.
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- L'auteur discute la carrière de Perrault de sa naissance en 1753 jusqu'à son mariage à Montréal, peu après son retour des Illinois et de Détroit.
- MAY, GEORGE S., ed. The Discovery of Father Marquette's Grave at St. Ignace in 1877, as Related by Father Edward Jucker (*Michigan History*, XLII (3), Sept., 1958, 267-87). A contemporary account of the event.
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#### (4) Canada since 1867

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- BUCHANAN, E. V. Reminiscences (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XIV (5), Dec., 1958, 26-38). Comments on the career of Sir Adam Beck.
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- KEMP, VERNON A. M. *Without Fear, Favour or Affection: Thirty-five Years with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xii, 264. \$4.50.
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### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

- BARKER, MARY. The Duel (*Atlantic Advocate*, XLIX (3), Nov., 1958, 49-55). An account of one of the last duels fought in New Brunswick in 1821. Illustrated.
- A *Directory of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1758-1958*. Introduction by C. BRUCE FERGUSSON. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1958. Pp. viii, 519.
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WINSLOW, J. J. FRASER. The First Slander Trial in New Brunswick (*Atlantic Advocate*, XLIX (3), Nov., 1958, 57-62). An account of the slander charge by Benedict Arnold in 1788. Illustrated.

### (2) The Province of Quebec

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ROBIDOUX, RÉJEAN. "Les Soirées canadiennes" et "Le Foyer canadien" dans le mouvement littéraire québécois de 1860 (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, XXVIII (4), oct.-déc. 1958, 411-52).

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### (3) The Province of Ontario

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DUNNING, R. W. Some Implications of Economic Change in Northern Ojibwa Social Structure (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XXIV (4), Nov., 1958, 562-6). The results of a study conducted among the northern Ojibwa at Pekangikum, Ontario.

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GUNDY, H. PEARSON. A Kingston Surgeon in the American Civil War (*Historic Kingston* (7), Nov., 1958, 43-52). The career of Francis Moses Wafer who served with the Union forces as a medical officer.

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MARY ELECTA, Sr. The History of the Community of the Sisters of Providence of St. Vincent de Paul, Kingston (*Historic Kingston* (7), Nov., 1958, 28-42).

MEALING, S. R. The Enthusiasms of John Graves Simcoe (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1958, 50-62).

MOIR, JOHN S., ed. A Circuit Rider on the River Thames: The Diary of William Case, 20 June-26 August, 1809 (*Western Ontario History Nuggets*, no. 24, 1958, Pp. i, 22).

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SPOONER, HILARY. Sharon Temple and The Children of Peace (*Ontario History*, L (4), autumn, 1958, 219-27).

SQUIRE, BOWEN P. The Indian Site at Consecon (*Historic Kingston* (7), Nov., 1958, 53-63). Map.

STEVENS, GERALD. Toniata (*Historic Kingston* (7), Nov., 1958, 15-27). Description of an archaeological investigation of the earliest recorded village on the upper St. Lawrence. Map.

WURTELE, D. J. Mossom Boyd: Lumber King of the Trent Valley (*Ontario History*, L (4), autumn, 1958, 177-89).

## (4) The Prairie Provinces

- DAHLMAN, AUGUST. Homesteading in the Willow Bunch District (*Saskatchewan History* XI (3), autumn, 1958, 104-13).
- GRIESBACH, W. A., ed. The Narrative of James Gibbons (*Alberta Historical Review*, VI (3), summer, 1958, 1-6; VI (4), autumn, 1958, 10-15). The reminiscences of an Irishman who landed in America in 1854, joined the California, Fraser Valley, and Wild Horse Creek gold rushes, finally settling near Edmonton in 1865 where he remained until his death in 1933.
- HUTCHINSON, GERALD. Early Wesleyan Missions (*Alberta Historical Review*, VI (4), autumn, 1958, 1-6). A discussion of missionary activity in the West during the nineteenth century.
- MACGREGOR, J. G. *North-West of 16*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited. 1958. Pp. 224. \$4.00. To be reviewed later.
- PRIDHAM, EDWIN A. The Title to Land in Manitoba (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Papers*, series III, no. 13, 1958, 7-26).
- STOUT, C. H. Saddle Notches, Candles and Oil: Early Days in Leduc (*Alberta Historical Review*, VI (4), autumn, 1958, 16-24).
- STUBBS, ROY ST. GEORGE. Hon. Edmund Burke Wood (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Papers*, series III, no. 13, 1958, 27-47).
- TAGGART, M. KATHLEEN. The First Shelter of Early Pioneers (*Saskatchewan History*, XI (3), autumn, 1958, 81-93). Based on a questionnaire submitted by 250 pioneers on the nature of their first homes.
- TATE, ALBERT. A Winter Buffalo Hunt (*Alberta Historical Review*, VI (4), autumn, 1958, 25-6).
- TURNBULL, THOMAS. Manitou Memories (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Papers*, series III, no. 13, 1958, 60-72). The author examines various aspects of life in the Pembina Municipality in the late nineteenth century.
- TURNER, ALLAN R. W. R. Motherwell: The Emergence of a Farm Leader (*Saskatchewan History*, XI (3), autumn, 1958, 94-103).

## (5) The Province of British Columbia

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- LAMB, W. KAYE. S. S. Beaver: Vice-Regal Yacht of 1858 (*Beaver*, outfit 289, winter, 1958, 10-17). An account of the varied career of the steamship *Beaver* on the west coast. Illustrated.
- ORMSBY, MARGARET. *British Columbia: A History*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1958. Pp. x, 558. \$4.75. To be reviewed later.
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- WILD, RONALD. *Amor de Cosmos*. Foreword by W. A. C. BENNETT. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 146. \$4.00. To be reviewed later.

## IV. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

- BRAZEAU, JACQUES. Language Differences and Occupational Experience (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XXIV (4), Nov., 1958, 532-40). An examination of the importance of language differences in training people for jobs, with particular reference to English and French Canadians, emphasizing that this has not yet been studied for civilian society, in spite of the plurality of language stocks in our labour force.
- CORBETT, E. A. McGill Men and the Start of the Western Universities (*McGill News*, XXXIX (4), autumn, 1958, 24-7). Illustrated.
- FARNHAM, WALLACE D. The Study of American History in Canadian Universities (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1958, 63-76).
- KIRK, LAWRENCE E. Early Years in the College of Agriculture (*Saskatchewan History*, XII (1), winter, 1959, 23-30).

- LEBEL, MAURICE. A Survey of the Latest Reforms in the Field of Education in Quebec (*Culture*, XIX (3), sept. 1958, 257-72). The text of the Gray Lecture, delivered at the University of Toronto, November 5, 1957.
- MURRAY, JEAN E. The Contest for the University of Saskatchewan (*Saskatchewan History*, XII (1), winter, 1959, 1-22). The author discusses the controversy over the location of the University of Saskatchewan. Illustrated.
- POULIOT, LÉON. L'Enseignement universitaire catholique au Canada français de 1760 à 1860 (*R.H.A.F.*, XXII (2), sept. 1958, 155-69). The author discusses the various attempts to establish university education in Quebec, finally achieved with the founding of Laval in 1852.
- SWAN, C. M. J. F. The Roots of a University (*Canadian Geographic Journal*, LVII (6), Dec., 1958, 204-8). The founding of Assumption University at Windsor.
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- LAMB, W. KAYE. Presidential Address (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1958, 1-12). A description of current aims and accomplishments at the Public Archives of Canada with comments on the relationship between the archivist and the historian.
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- TOUGAS, GERARD. *A Check List of Printed Materials Relating to French Canadian Literature*. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Library. 1958. Pp. 93. \$2.50.

## VIII. ARTS AND SCIENCES

### (1) Literature, Art, and Music

- BECKWITH, JOHN. The Vancouver International Festival, 1958 (*Canadian Music Journal*, III (1), autumn, 1958, 32-7).
- CHITTICK, V. L. O. Books and Music in Haliburton (*Dalhousie Review*, XXXVIII (2), summer, 1958, 207-21). A discussion of the Canadian author's use of his knowledge of literature and music in his writings.
- DUROCHER, RAYMOND. French Canadian Literature in Manitoba (*Canadian Author and Bookman*, XXXIV (3), fall, 1958, 4-6).
- GATHERCOLE, PATRICIA M. The Documentary Value of the French-Canadian Novel (*Books Abroad*, XXXII (4), autumn, 1958, 375-8). The author discusses the accuracy with which contemporary French-Canadian authors portray their society.
- GOWANS, ALAN. *Looking at Architecture in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. 232. \$7.95. Illustrated.
- GRAHAM, GEORGE. Music at Stratford: Tail of a Comet (*Canadian Music Journal*, III (1), autumn, 1958, 24-31). A critical analysis of the 1958 Music Festival at Stratford.
- HEALY, GEORGE R. The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage (*William and Mary Quarterly*, XV (2), April 1958, 143-67). The author discusses the idealized Indian portrayed in the literature of the Jesuit missionaries.
- KLINCK, CARL F. Adam Kidd: An Early Canadian Poet (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXV (3) autumn, 1958, 495-506). A review of Kidd's life and work.
- LAFORTE, CONRAD. *Le Catalogue de la chanson folklorique française*. Préface de Luc LACOURCIÈRE. Québec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval. 1958. Pp. xxxii, 397.



- LEE, THOMAS R., ed. *An Artist Inspects Upper Canada: The Diary of Daniel Fowler, 1843 (Ontario History, L (4), autumn, 1958, 211-18).*
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- ROSS, MALCOLM, ed. *The Arts in Canada: A Stocktaking at Mid-century.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1958. Pp. viii, 176. \$10.00. Illustrated.
- SPENDLOVE, F. ST. GEORGE. *The Face of Early Canada.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xxi, 162. \$8.50. Illustrated.
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- WATT, F. W. *The Theme of "Canada's Century," 1896-1920 (Dalhousie Review, XXXVIII (2), summer, 1958, 154-66).* An examination of the contemporary literature of a period in which Canadians saw themselves as "caught up in an enormous, exhilarating wave of Evolution which was sweeping them forward to a glorious future."
- WILSON, MILTON. "Other Canadians" and After (*Tamarack Review*, (9), autumn, 1958, 77-92). A critical review of modern Canadian poetry.

## (2) Science, Industry, and Agriculture

- A Conference of Indian Business Men. Second Decennial Conference on Native Indian Affairs, *Report.* University of British Columbia, April 1-2, 1958. Victoria: B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society. 1958. Pp. 43. \$1.00.
- EASTERBROOK, W. T. *Trends in Canadian Economic Thought (South Atlantic Quarterly, LVIII (1), winter, 1959, 91-107).* The author examines the various phases in the development of Canadian economic thought.
- GLUEK, ALVIN C., Jr. *Industrial Experiments in the Wilderness: A Sidelight in the Business History of the Hudson's Bay Company (Business History Review, XXXII (4), winter, 1958, 423-33).* The author examines the attempts of the H.B.C. to establish industries in surroundings by nature inhospitable to a higher economy.
- GREEN, H. GORDON. *The Flight at Baddeck (Atlantic Advocate, XLIX (2), Oct., 1958, 21-9).* The story of the first flight in the Commonwealth, at Nova Scotia in 1909. Illustrated.
- HANLEY, ANN. *Andrew Onderdonk, Master Builder (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XLIX (4), Oct., 1958, 146-9).* The career of the American in charge of the building of the C.P.R. along the Fraser River.
- HANNAM, H. H. *The Farmer's Front: Current Trends, Problems, and Policies (Queen's Quarterly, LXV (3), autumn, 1958, 413-22).*
- MEWS, MARJORIE. *Port in a Storm: The Maturing of Wine in Newfoundland (Atlantic Advocate, XLIX (2), Oct., 1958, 73-80).* The history of the wine industry in Newfoundland.
- NEWTON-WHITE, E. *Hurt Not the Earth.* Drawings by THOREAU MACDONALD. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 187. \$4.95. The author discusses the problems of conservation in Canada. Illustrated.
- POINT, H. M. *So We'll Go No More A-Roving (Canadian Banker, LXV (3), winter, 1958, 37-48).* An examination of Canadian shipping between 1848 and 1878.
- RAVER, PAUL, et al. *Power Development on the Upper Columbia—a Symposium (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XLIX (3), July, 1958, 99-120).* A study of various aspects of Canadian-U.S. development of the Columbia River.
- RIEDEL, THOMAS. *Early Canadian Gunsmiths, With Special Reference to Gunsmiths in the Quinte Bay Area (Historic Kingston (7), Nov., 1958, 5-14).*
- SMYTH, J. E. *Financial Disclosures by Subsidiaries: The Case of Canadian and Foreign-Controlled Companies (Queen's Quarterly, LXV (3), autumn, 1958, 403-12).* A discussion of the present legal requirements for the publication of financial affairs by Canadian companies.

## (3) Geography, Transportation and Migration

- BEWITT, ROSS. The First Atlantic Cable (*Atlantic Advocate*, XLVIII (12), Aug., 1958, 51-4). An illustrated account of the laying of the first cable.
- JOHNSON, GILBERT. The Syrians in Western Canada (*Saskatchewan History*, XII (1), winter, 1959, 30-1). The author discusses Syrian immigration to the prairies at the turn of the century.
- LAMB, MARTHA J. The Opening of the Erie Canal (*Inland Seas*, XIV (2), summer, 1958, 97-104). An excerpt from the author's *History of the City of New York*, published in 1880.
- MACDONALD, ARTHUR. Fifty Years After Baddeck: Canada's Aircraft Industry (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LVII (1), July, 1958, 2-15). Traces the development of the aircraft industry in Canada from 1909. Illustrated.
- SAS, ANTHONY. Dutch Concentration in Rural Southwestern Ontario During the Post-war Decade (Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, XLVIII (3), Sept., 1958, 185-94). Maps.
- WILKES, STUART B. Niagara Memory (*Inland Seas*, XIV (2), summer, 1958, 105-7). Recollections of the ferry *Union*, which crossed from Buffalo to Fort Erie from 1884 to 1909. Illustrated.

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## Our Contributors

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## Notes and Comments

ROBERT MacGREGOR DAWSON

THE DEATH OF Robert MacGregor Dawson at his summer home in Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, on July 16, 1958, in the midst of his labours as official biographer of Mackenzie King is a heavy blow to Canadian scholarship and a grievous loss to his many friends and admirers all over Canada. For thirty years, he had held a commanding position as a brilliant teacher and a distinguished scholar and writer. A host of persons are deeply conscious of their debt to him for his lucid instruction. Scores of colleagues and former students who knew him as a generous friend share with his family their sense of loss.

He was born in Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, in 1895. In his studies at Dalhousie University, which ended with an M.A. degree in 1916, his main interests were economics and law. At Harvard University, where he took an M.A. degree in 1917, the emphasis began to shift from economics to politics. At the London School of Economics, he concentrated entirely on politics and took a D.Sc. degree in 1922, with his published dissertation on *The Principle of Official Independence*.

Between 1921 and 1928, he was, briefly and successively, a lecturer at Dalhousie and at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, and Assistant Professor of Government at Rutgers University in New Jersey. From 1928 to 1937, he was Professor of Political Science at the University of Saskatchewan. From 1937 until his death, he was first Associate Professor, and then Professor, of Political Science at the University of Toronto. In 1951, he was given leave of absence to undertake the official biography of Mackenzie King. He worked at it for the remainder of his life, and in failing health during the last three years.

He was not the first Canadian political scientist. Others with as good credentials had been in the field before him. Yet he was the pioneer in carving out for political science a homestead of its own. No one else in Canada has worked as long and devotedly without significant distraction in this field. The only distraction, if distraction it was, came in 1943-5 when he was Royal Commissioner on Provincial Development and Rehabilitation in Nova Scotia. The big harvest of his work on Canada is sufficiently indicated, although by no means fully contained, in the titles: *The Civil Service of Canada* (1929), *Constitutional Issues in Canada, 1900-31* (1933), *The Development of Dominion Status, 1900-36* (1937), *Canada in World Affairs* (1943), *The Government of Canada* (1947). He inspired the Canadian Government Series, and edited the nine volumes which had appeared before his death. He was a vivid and impressive teacher, fanning sparks of interest into flames. In his active years at the University of Toronto, he inspired and guided a great effort of research into Canadian government and politics. Three of the nine titles in the Canadian Government Series are by students who sat at his feet or, more correctly, who were lifted out of their seats by his voice.



Even this is not the most of what he did. He had very high standards of scholarship which he pressed urgently on everyone who studied near him. He prized thoroughness, accuracy, and clarity. Canadian government was his special, if not quite exclusive, passion and he had an extraordinary knowledge of its history as well as its present workings. (Students in his seminars found that he had an inexhaustible store of pertinent anecdote, always enriched in the telling by a robustious sense of humour.) With this mastery, he knew unerringly when and in what ways a piece of work on Canadian government was shoddy or incomplete. When the occasion called for it, he pinpointed deficiencies with breathtaking bluntness and crushing finality, in a voice that took the upper registers of scorn.

Devastating though these rebukes were, they were always fair, and his students rarely took them amiss. They respected the mastery and the integrity, and they were drawn to the warm and sympathetic nature that outbursts of severity could never quite hide. He had so many academic children who absorbed his learning and his standards that he rates as the father of his profession in Canada.

Everyone who took up the teaching of political science in Canada got unstinted help and encouragement from him. He pressed ceaselessly for the enlargement of teaching staffs in the subject. In 1948-9, he surveyed the teaching of political science for the Canadian Social Science Research Council. He visited all the Canadian universities, explaining to the heads of most of them with candour and vehemence how reprehensible was their neglect of the teaching of political science. Much of the credit for the recent enlargement of teaching in political science must go to him.

In his own studies, he concentrated almost entirely on Canadian government. To see his work in perspective, we must remember that he came to maturity during the great debate over Canadian autonomy. He embraced the concept of an independent Canadian nation within the Commonwealth, with all its corollaries. The nation state was validated as the significant political form, within which the other things that were important to him could be fitted. Within its framework, men could be secured in their individual liberty and sturdy independence, and assured of enough social equality to give vivid meaning to an equal citizenship. This was an adequate political philosophy for him, bringing his energies to a focus.

If Canada was to be a nation conscious of itself and making the most of its possibilities, we needed to know all about our government and how it worked. In 1920, no one had done more than scratch the surface of the field. He knew that a government takes colour and shape from its history. He set out to master the history of Canadian government as well as the machinery of its current operation. As early as 1924, he was publishing articles in the *Canadian Historical Review* on the history of the Canadian civil service. From that time on, he kept cutting paths through political and governmental history as well as preparing to write his textbook, *The Government of Canada*. Later, in the 1940's, he turned attention to the woefully neglected field of provincial governments, encouraging graduate students in provincial studies. Two of these have already appeared in the Canadian Government Series, and there are still more in the making.

Throughout he remained the convinced Canadian nationalist. (He never tried to conceal an equal conviction that Canada would have been a poor thing indeed without his beloved Nova Scotia, to which his homing instinct always drew him.) He affirmed steadily the importance of federal power under section 91 of the British North America Act, chided the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

for its restrictive interpretations, and manned the bastions in defence of the reformed civil service, all to the end that the national government should be made an effective instrument for national purposes. Yet, when a government's powers had been defined for the time being, it had all it would get from him. He was always the stalwart friend of civil liberties. It took very little insolence of office to rouse him to vigilant patrol of the boundary between public power and private right. There was never any temporizing or timidity on these or on any other public issues that he judged to be important. One learned very quickly where he stood.

To those who knew him as a friend, his death opens a void that will not be filled. There are no replacements for the warmth of his greeting, the gaiety of his bantering talk, and the ebullience of his zest. The sadness is compounded by his inability to finish the biography of Mackenzie King. In his last years, he was hampered, and often halted, by severe illness. He worked at it beyond the limits of his strength. The size of the task and the decline in health dampened his high spirits, leaving him often with little more than a residue of dogged purpose. It was something for him to live to correct the page-proofs of the first volume.

As one who loved his garden in Bridgewater nearly as well as his work, he knew that frost nips first the gayest blooms, leaving us with a memory of the prime. He would understand that this happens too in the garden of the spirit. So, for his friends, it is something to remember the full riot of summer colour.

[J. A. CORRY]

#### HISTORY OF DISCOVERY

AN INTERNATIONAL Congress of the History of the Discoveries will be held in Lisbon from August 7-15, 1960 "as part of the celebrations of the Fifth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry The Navigator." All inquiries and correspondence should be addressed to: Secretário-General de Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos, Palácio de S. Bento, Lisboa, Portugal.

#### ARCHIVES COURSE

A COURSE IN Archival Principles and Administration is being given June 8-July 3, 1959 by Carleton University in co-operation with the Public Archives of Canada. The first of its kind to be offered in Canada, this course is designed to cover basic techniques and also to give special attention to archival problems peculiar to this country. The course will include both formal and practical work, with opportunity for the students to concentrate their studies in the field of either archives or record management. Tuition is \$72.00. For further information and application forms write The Registrar, Carleton University, Ottawa 1, Ontario.

#### CANADIAN GOVERNMENT SERIES

THE University of Toronto Press has announced the appointment of Professor J. A. Corry, Vice-Principal of Queen's University, as editor of the Canadian Government Series. Professor Corry succeeds the late Professor R. MacGregor Dawson.

